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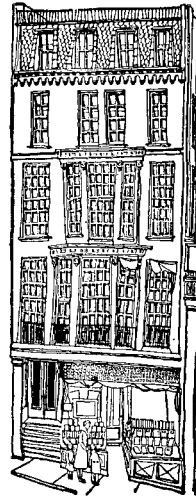
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History as High Adventure*

WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB

THIS is the seventy-second presidential address delivered before the American Historical Association. The previous seventy-one were prepared by seventy persons. Naturally, as the game proceeds, the selection of a subject becomes increasingly difficult because the firstcomers harvested the tallest grain, leaving to us later ones the gleaning of well-mown fields. The presidents have dealt with the usefulness of history, with the facts, the fallacies, the vagaries, the science, the philosophy, the content, and with the individuals who support the great man theory; they have examined imagination, faith, freedom, distinction, religion, and even truth. He who scans these contributions feels that there is little left to say on the more serious aspects of history. In fact he finds in what has already been said a good deal of repetition and a considerable amount of contradiction.

Two rifts I have been able to detect in this cloud of learning, two opportunities not yet pre-empted. The first is in the field of humor. Judging by the published addresses, one must conclude that historians are deadly serious

* Presidential address delivered at the annual dinner of the American Historical Association, the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., December 29, 1958.

when called upon to give testimony of their stewardship. There is, so far as I have been able to find, scarcely a glimmer of humor, hardly a particle of wit, and rarely a suggestion of an exuberant spirit in the whole collection. The historian, reading these addresses seventy-five years hence, will see that presidents had much learning, some wisdom, and no fun at all. Since I am not qualified, either by nature or by inclination, to fill this gap with a little laughter, I leave that joyous task to a bolder successor.

The second opening, the one I shall enter, lies in the field of personal experience, of adventure into the wilderness of the past, that wild country wherein one can be lost for days or weeks or months, in exploration as exciting as any known to argonauts or *conquistadores*; and the lovely feature about this delirious experience is that the historical explorer moves among the dangers and hardships with complete immunity until finally he comes out in print, in point-blank range of the critics. It does seem strange that the historians have been so unwilling to relate their personal experience in historical exploration. They have tended to hide themselves in anonymity, to be impersonal, to give a blueprint of their fragment of truth rather than the enthralling tale of how it was chased, cornered, and captured. What I tell here makes no claim to objectivity. It is designed to be as subjective and revealing as I can make it, and yet have within as much truth as one can afford when talking about himself.

Here I need to warn those young historians who flock to these meetings, apparently in the hope that they will gain some clue to getting forward in this profession. They are likely to think that the man who is president may reveal the secret of how he got there. Presidents in their turn seem to be influenced by what is expected of them, and so they give something of their philosophy of history which more often than not exhibits how they felt after they got there. While I, as some of my predecessors have done, am talking tonight out of at least one side of my mouth to these young historians, I would tell them, and I want to tell them with emphasis, that if they aspire to occupy this place, they should listen attentively to my story, make notes on my education, graduate record, and college career, and then be extremely careful to avoid following the example of one who has done nearly everything wrong. Seeing what I have done, they will know what not to do.

My presence here is one of the most improbable accidents in the history of the profession. I am here in defiance of geography, regionalism, and history. My background is southern, both my parents being from Mississippi; my home is west of the Big River, and my field of study has been the plebian field of Western America. All my degrees are from a state university, the

one in which I teach. I have never taught anywhere else except temporarily. I am one of the few persons who did not have to leave home to get a job. I am an example of institutional inbreeding which frightens all universities save the two that practice it most, Harvard and Oxford.

Of my seventy-two presidential predecessors, seventy were American citizens, one Canadian, and one French. Of the seventy Americans, sixty-three came from the northern states, two from the South, and five from the West. Patrick Henry's grandson, the seventh president, was elected from Virginia in 1891. I am the only person ever elected while a teacher in a southern institution. Two presidents were born west of the Mississippi River, but I am the only one of them elected to the office while a resident teacher west of the river.

Though California has furnished five presidents, all of them were transplanted from the East save one who was from England. So if any young man here is ambitious to be president, he should shun the South and avoid the West. The ambitious designer of a charted career should bear in mind that two states, New York and Massachusetts, have furnished thirty-six presidents, one-half of the total, and that the percentage will increase.

I could tell a great deal about my predecessors, that the average age is sixty-three, that two were in their eighties, thirteen in their seventies, thirty-two in their sixties, and two, Jameson and Turner, in their forties. The office has been held by such distinguished people as presidents and ambassadors and by natives of England, Scotland, France, Canada, Scandinavia, and Russia.

When I pointed out to my wife that 90 per cent of the presidents were from the North and suggested that she should be very proud that at last the South had also been recognized, she replied with one of those marvelous flashes of misunderstanding, "I know—they have decided to integrate!"

Since I promised a human story, I will refrain from statistics. It would be highly gratifying if I could say that from a very early age I wanted to be a historian, and that I bent every effort to this purpose. Nothing could be further from the truth. Actually I have never been ambitious in the profession as witnessed by the fact that I have a poor record of attendance at the national meetings, have served on no committees, written few book reviews, and have never submitted an article to either of the national journals, although a former presidential address was published. This indifference illustrates two points: first, that I never expected national recognition; second, that I have followed my own interest, acquiring in the process severe penalties and an occasional reward.

What I wanted to be was a writer, and I wanted to write, not for the few but for the many, never for the specialist who doesn't read much anyway. I wanted to write so that people could understand me; I wanted to persuade them, lure them along from sentence to paragraph, make them see patterns of truth in the kaleidoscope of the past, exercise upon them the marvelous magic of words as conveyors of thought. With this ambition to write I entered college, very late and with little preparation, and here my past caught up with me. I convinced several English professors that I could not punctuate, and they convinced me that I could not write. For years I did not touch pen to paper.

In my junior year I registered for a course called institutional history, taught by a Canadian-born and European-trained scholar, Lindley Miller Keasbey. What he taught was not history, nor economics, nor anthropology, nor philosophy, but a good deal of all these and more. He swept me off my feet, gave me a method of thinking and a point of view which has entered into all that I have done. His patterns were clear, concise, and exciting. I took all his courses and decided that I would become a teacher of institutional history, beginning in the high schools. But when I surveyed the field, as a wiser person would have done earlier, I found that there was no such thing as institutional history anywhere except in the University of Texas. Then I learned that this man was so unorthodox that he was not welcomed to teach in any standard department. To provide a place for him, the authorities allowed him to set up an independent department, and his former colleagues were dismayed when their best students flocked to him by the hundreds. The authorities finally solved that problem and restored harmony by firing him. And there I was, a specialist in a nonexistent field of learning.

But on the record institutional history does look like history, enough like it to fool one school board. Thus I became a history teacher with only two elementary courses in the subject. Now, since I was making a living teaching history, I decided it would be wise to learn something about it, and I began taking advanced courses, and finally took the B.A. degree at about the age most take the Ph.D. In the meantime I had made something of a reputation as a high school teacher of history, and had written an article on the subject, and that made me an expert. In 1918 I was invited to come to the University of Texas to conduct a course in the teaching of history so that it would not be given by a methodologist.

The time had come to start work on the M.A. It was necessary to choose a subject, and here good fortune attended me. A series of Mexican revolutions had made the Texas border a turbulent place; James E. Ferguson as

governor had made all Texas turbulent. Ferguson increased the Ranger force, and the Rangers went to the border to commit crimes almost as numerous and quite as heinous as those of Pancho Villa's bandits. These crimes were exposed in a legislative investigation led by J. T. Canales. The exposure made exciting headlines in all the papers. I read those headlines and asked myself an important question: Has anyone written the history of the Texas Rangers? The answer was no. I chose that subject and was off on the first lap of the great adventure, to write the history of the oldest institution of its kind in the world. The story led west, to the frontier, to vicarious adventure of the body, and to real adventure of the mind. Though I was not aware of it then, I had found my field.

Trailing the Texas Rangers, who in turn had trailed the ancestors of some of the best people in Texas, was a combination of drudgery and fun. It was my first work with sources, the faded letters and reports of a handful of men standing between the people and their enemies, men better with a gun than with a pen. Though the records were abundant, I did not stop with the records. Like Parkman I went to all the places where things had happened. I sought out the old men, still living then, who had fought Comanches and Apaches, killed Sam Bass at Round Rock, and broken up deadly feuds inherited from the more deadly reconstruction. With a captain and a private I visited every Ranger camp on the Mexican border where there were still elements of danger; I carried a commission and had the exhilarating experience of wearing a Colt revolver in places where it might have been useful. At night by the campfires I listened to the tales told by men who could talk without notes.

Though the desire to write had been suppressed, it had not been killed. One day I sat down and wrote an article sketching the early history of the Texas Rangers, and for the first time an editor paid me the compliment of writing a check in my favor. This was a landmark, the beginning of a long and happy relationship between me and editors. In retrospect I wondered what had enabled me to break the barrier separating academic people from paying editors. Why had my early efforts been rejected? What new element had entered which enabled me to persuade an editor to write a check? The difference was that now I had something to say; I had learned intimately about one segment of life. The subject I had found in my own front yard was one that I could understand as I could never understand such exotic, to me, topics as the French Revolution or Renaissance art. The way led west.

It was during these same years that the oil boom broke in West Texas.

It began in my home town of Ranger, a village of one thousand which became a brawling mass of ten thousand in six months. Law and order broke down, the criminal element rushed in to gamble, murder, and rob. Then the Rangers came to run out the criminals and restore local government to the demoralized citizens. This was a formula repeated in town after town as the boom spread. The genuine boom was followed by a bogus one, run by speculators who floated stock promotions to fleece the gullible public.

One of these bogus companies with headquarters in Fort Worth founded a magazine and decided to do a series of articles on the services the Texas Rangers had rendered in cleaning up the oil towns. The editor addressed a letter to the University asking who was qualified to write the story. The letter found its way to my desk, and I began to tell the story of my Rangers at two cents a word. This pleasant arrangement was interrupted by a United States marshal and judge who had quaint ideas about the uses of the mail.

Though I did not realize it at the time, as I tell this story Texas does seem to have been an exciting place. I shall always be grateful to this crooked oil company because in writing articles for it I stumbled on one of the few original ideas I ever had. As a matter of fact up until that time I had never had one.

This idea came to me on a dark winter night when a heavy rain was rattling on the roof of the small back room where I was trying to write an article for the oil magazine. By this time I knew a great deal about the Texas Rangers, their dependence on horses, and their love for the Colt revolver; I knew the nature of their enemies, primarily the Comanches, and I knew the kind of society they represented and defended. I was ready for that moment of synthesis which comes after long hours of aimless research to give understanding and animation to inert knowledge. What I saw that night was that when Stephen F. Austin brought his colonists to Texas, he brought them to the edge of one environment, the eastern woodland, and to the border of another environment, the Great Plains. The Texas Rangers were called into existence and kept in existence primarily to defend the settlements against Indians on horseback, Indians equipped with weapons that could be used on horseback. These Texans, fresh from the forests, had no such weapons, for theirs had been developed in the woods and were not suitable for horsemen. While the conflict between the Rangers and the Comanches was at its height, Samuel Colt invented the revolver, the ideal weapon for a man on horseback. It took a year to gather the proof of what I knew that night, and I sensed that something very important happened when the American people emerged from the woodland and undertook to

live on the plains. In that transition the Texans were the forerunners, the Rangers the spearhead of the advance, and the revolver an adaptation to the needs of a new situation.

The excitement of that moment was probably the greatest creative sensation I have ever known. With the roar of the rain in my ears, I went to the front of the house to tell the most sympathetic listener I have known that I had come upon something really important, that I was no longer an imitator, parroting what I read or what some professor had said. This idea that something important happened when the Americans came out of the woods and undertook to live on the plains freed me from authority, and set me out on an independent course of inquiry. One question I asked over and over, of myself and of others: What else happened? What other changes took place in the manner of living when thousands of westbound people emerged from a humid, broken woodland to live on the level, semiarid plains where there was never enough water and practically no wood? This question attended me in all my reading, and led straight to the books I needed. In this chase the Texas Rangers, formerly so exciting, became dull and prosaic fellows, and I cast them aside to follow the new trail that still led west. The teaching of Keasbey came back in full force as I studied the western environment and tried to find its effects on human beings.

Though I had picked up the M.A. degree in transit, I still lacked the accursed Ph.D. The pressure to get it was gentle, for that was a tolerant age, but it was there, and I was advised to go elsewhere for graduate work. This is wise advice for most people, but it came near being fatal for me. I was already too old, and what is more, I now had an idea of my own which made others—to my teeming mind at that moment—seem of secondary importance. My adviser, Frederic Duncalf, wrote to Professor Turner about a scholarship at Harvard, but Turner replied saying I was too old and should not try Harvard. I shall always be grateful to Turner for this favor and for reasons that will be apparent later. Chicago was less discriminating, and I was fortunate in going where no one offered a course in western history.

At the end of twelve months I returned to Texas, ill, deep in debt, and without the degree. I would have preferred to omit this adventure, but the academic grapevine has carried the story, somewhat distorted, far and wide, and I dare not ignore it completely. There should be a moral here, but the only one I can find is this: Don't take an original idea into a graduate school.

The trip back to Texas after a long absence is one I shall not forget. At St. Louis I boarded the San Antonio car of the Texas Special where I heard again familiar voices of people I never knew talking in familiar accents of

cotton, cattle, and oil. I was already home.

I brought home some stout resolutions: (1) I would never listen to another academic lecture if I could help it; (2) I would recoup my finances; (3) I would henceforth follow my own intellectual interests at whatever cost; (4) I would write history as I saw it from Texas, and not as it appeared in some distant center of learning. Thanks to the tolerance of my department, I did not have to listen to any more academic lectures. I recouped my finances by participating in a series of highly successful textbooks, a wonderful antidote for academic anemia. Then I turned from textbooks and a small fortune to write history as I saw it from Texas. The road led west, and I now knew I had something to say.

A few people have asked why I remained in Texas, as if that were something needing explanation. The obvious answer should be clear from what has been said. The real answer is that I was bound to Texas by many ties. All the sources I needed were there, and those for the Texas Rangers existed nowhere else. Also the key to understanding the American West up to 1875 was there. It was in Texas that the Anglo-Americans first tackled the problem of living on the plains; it was there that they made the first adjustments, such as learning how to fight on horseback and how to handle cattle from horses. The processes of this adjustment that I was slowly discovering could be perceived more clearly from the south end of the plains corridor than from any other vantage point. And of course when I returned to Texas without the degree I was not in a favorable position to be considered elsewhere. My situation was like that of Mr. George B. Dealey, who began work as an errand boy in a Texas newspaper office and wound up later as owner of what became a truly great newspaper. "Why, Mr. Dealey," an admirer asked, "did you happen to stay in Texas?" "The answer is very simple," Mr. Dealey said. "No one offered me a job."

Without design, I was now on the way to becoming a western historian. I was excellently prepared because I had never had a course in that field, and therefore could view it without preconceived notions or borrowed points of view. With an instinct for the possible, I had stumbled into the least complex area of the United States where there were no industries as in the North, no special institutions as in the South, no battlefields nor statesmen, and only local politics. Practically all the records were in English so that the language requirements were negligible.

Slight as the demands were, I was ill prepared to meet them. My idea of the compelling unity of the American West had now become an obsession. That unity was exemplified in the geology, the geography, the climate, vege-

tation, animal life and Indian life, all background forces operating with telling effect on those people who in the nineteenth century crawled out of the salubrious eastern woodland to live in this harsh land. To the problem of understanding this Western environment in all its aspects, I applied the technique learned from Keasbey. This technique consisted of taking an environment, in this case the Great Plains, as a unit, and superimposing layer after layer of its components with geology as the foundation and the latest human culture, literature, as the final product, the flower growing out of the compost of human effort and physical forces. There was a compelling logic in the plan for him who would follow it, but to plough through such unknown fields as geology, climatology, botany, and anthropology to arrive finally at the sixteenth century—when men began to make a record of their puny efforts, many failures and few successes—in order to write the heroic and tragic history of the American West, was no small task. But it was high adventure. I have never worked so hard or with such exaltation as in those days when I carved out of the books piece after piece and found that they all fit together to form a harmonious pattern which I knew beforehand was there.

Yes, this was the easy field. No matter how hard I worked, I was still a western historian. No one understood the trouble or the fun I was having in relating the many fields to my topic. In commenting one day to a colleague in a more scholarly division of history, I said: "Never have I felt so keenly the need of an education. The fact that I didn't get one is most unfortunate!"

"Yes," he said, "but think how lucky you were in getting into a field where you don't need it!"

In two respects I was indeed lucky. (1) In the Great Plains I had chosen an environment simple in structure whose force was so compelling as to influence profoundly whatever touched it. The trail was plain, and the technique learned from Keasbey was applicable. (2) I was also lucky in that I was examining for meaning a familiar land which I had known as a child. A friend asked me once when I began preparation to write *The Great Plains*. I answered that I began at the age of four when my father left the humid East and set his family down in West Texas, in the very edge of the open, arid country which stretched north and west farther than a boy could imagine. There I touched the hem of the garment of the real frontier; there I tasted alkali. I was not the first man, or boy; but the first men, Indian fighters, buffalo hunters, trail-drivers, half-reformed outlaws, and Oklahoma boomers were all around, full of memories and eloquent in relating them to small boys. There I saw the crops burned by drought, eaten by grasshoppers,

and destroyed by hail. I felt the searing winds come furnace-hot from the desert to destroy in a day the hopes of a year, and I saw a trail herd blinded and crazy from thirst completely out of control of horse-weary cowboys with faces so drawn they looked like death masks. In the hard-packed yard and on the encircling red-stone hills was the geology, in the pasture the desert botany and all the wild animals of the plains save the buffalo. The Indians, the fierce Comanches, had so recently departed, leaving memories so vivid and tales so harrowing that their red ghosts, lurking in every mott and hollow, drove me home all prickly with fear when I ventured too far. The whole Great Plains was there in microcosm, and the book I wrote was but an extension and explanation of what I had known firsthand in miniature, in a sense an autobiography with scholarly trimmings.

The Great Plains was published in 1931, and no more need be said about it except that it has never been revised, never will be revised by me, never has been imitated, and I am told by the publisher it never will go out of print. I came out of the experience of writing it—doing something in my own way—with a sense of power that comes to him who has made a long journey for a purpose, overcome the hardships, and returned to tell with appropriate exaggeration what to him is an important tale.

I was forty-three years old and still without the degree. There was nothing to do but turn back to the Texas Rangers which had been thrown aside in the excitement of exploring the Great Plains. At this stage Dr. Eugene C. Barker suggested that I use *The Great Plains* as a dissertation and take the degree at the University of Texas. I objected because I thought more of the book than that; it was not a dissertation, and I doubt the subject would have been accepted by any discreet department in the country.¹ Too big.

It was necessary to go through some mumbo jumbo to satisfy the regulations, but this was done with proper decorum and the degree was given to me a year later. I did not earn it. I have sat on many doctoral committees, always spiritually very near to the cornered candidate, and I have never sat on one where I could have passed the examination. I have, as my colleagues

¹ Apparently Turner had a little trouble in making his Wisconsin subject palatable to the Johns Hopkins professors. Fulmer Mood, after stating that Herbert Baxter Adams directed Turner's dissertation, says: "Adams did not think that the West had institutions worthy of study, but he permitted the young man from Wisconsin to follow his own bent. Institutional history . . . was the style at Johns Hopkins, and Turner wrote . . . on the trading post as an institution. He was able to demonstrate in learned fashion, and perhaps with . . . tongue in . . . cheek, that the trading post could be followed back into Phoenician and Roman times." Fulmer Mood, "Turner's Formative Period," *The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner* (Madison, Wis., 1938), 20.

Dr. Mood is a little unfair to Adams. He accepted the widest variety of subjects in his seminar, including Charles Howard Shinn's *Land Laws of Mining Districts* (Baltimore, Md., 1884), but all had to be treated as institutions.

know, I am sure, been a push-over for people who have trouble answering silly questions.

The Texas Rangers was published in 1935, eighteen years after I started it. The writing of a book is an act of resolution. At some stage the author must say: "No more research. I will not be lured away by new material. I will write this damned thing now." What led me to this resolution and held me to the task was the realization that 1935 would mark the hundredth anniversary of the Texas Rangers, and the next year Texas would celebrate with fanfare and much false history the centennial of its independence.

Though it takes resolution to begin a book, it takes more to complete it. There are dark moments when the struggling author wonders why he began it, and if it is worth while anyway. There are times when he is lost in the dark forest of alternatives. He can't go forward and he can't go back. Fred Gipson, author of *Hound-Dog Man*, tells a story to illustrate this crisis as he experienced it. After World War I, a neighbor took a contract to drive 3,000 head of goats 150 miles through the hill country of Texas. The only help he could get was Fred, aged sixteen, and another boy aged thirteen. The day after the drive started, the autumn rains set in and continued for three weeks. A goat is a self-willed brute, essentially a desert animal, averse to the dousing effect of water and reluctant to travel in the rain. When 3,000 goats hump up and refuse to move except under prodding, it makes a problem for the man and two boys who have to move them. The rain had soaked the clothes, the bedding, put out the camp fires, and mildewed the food; it had made the soles come loose on the boys' shoes so that they had to be tied on with binding twine and baling wire. Tempers wore thin. The smaller boy threw a stick at a humped-up goat and broke its leg. The boss, completely exhausted himself, lost his temper, and gave the boy the roughest tongue-lashing he had ever had. Fred said he can never forget the picture of abject misery this boy made as he stood, the rain running off his flop hat, his face distorted with anger and hurt, his tears as copious as the rain. When the boss was out of earshot, he made a futile gesture of despair and said, "Dammit, Fred, if I knew the way home, I'd quit." So would many an author.

But if one persists, both goats and books can be delivered. Since *The Texas Rangers* was the only book about Texas that appeared in 1935, Paramount bought it for the Texas Centennial picture of 1936. Paramount made full use of the title, and little else. The picture was quite successful. I am not going to tell you what I got for it in the midst of the depression, but I will say this: what I got made the depression more tolerable.

My next adventure, *Divided We Stand*, published in 1937, guaranteed that I would never be called to a northern university. I knew this when I wrote it, but I was doing pretty well where I was. The book has been called a pamphlet, a philippic, and a good many other things. Because the people could read it and did, it was not objective. It was based on the simple device of dividing the country into three sections, the North, the South, and the West, and examining the distribution of the national wealth among them. It explained how, after the Civil War, the North, directed by the Republican party, seized economic control of the nation and maintained it through corporate monopoly. The result was that by 1930 the North, with 21 per cent of the territory and 57 per cent of the people, owned and controlled approximately 85 per cent of the nation's wealth, although about 90 per cent of the natural resources were located in the South and West. (I thought of that in examining the distribution of the presidents of this Association. The North has had 90 per cent of the presidents and about the same proportion of nearly everything else.) The book in original form trod on the toes of a powerful monopoly of patents, and it in turn trod on my publisher, leading to expurgation in galley of all reference to this company and to its products, glass bottles. The book was quickly declared out of print on the ground that it did not sell.

But it had done its work. The Hartford Empire Company was hauled to Washington where I saw the same men who had dictated virtually what I should print about milk bottles quail before Thurmond Arnold's young attorneys who gave an examination that Hartford Empire did not pass. The book was also a factor in causing Franklin D. Roosevelt to issue the report of 1938 and his sensational letter declaring the South the economic problem Number One of the nation, and expressing the determination to do something about what he called the imbalance.

Although declared out of print, the book would not die. The federal investigation of the Hartford Empire Company put all the records in the public domain. From these records I told the whole story and published the revised book myself. It is now in the fourth edition, has sold 15,000 copies, and is still in print. The original publisher is out of business. Recently I re-examined the distribution of the national wealth among the sections to find that between 1930 and 1950 the South and the West gained in every category of wealth and well-being, in some cases spectacularly; and the North, while still far in the lead, lost correspondingly. Now with the Giants and Dodgers in California, with the House and Senate led and this Association presided over by Texans, it would seem that the North is going the way of the Republican party.

The story of my fourth adventure in history is told in *The Great Frontier*, published in 1952. It, like *The Great Plains*, is based on a single idea, best expressed in the question: What effect did all the new lands discovered by Columbus and his associates around 1500 have on Western civilization during the following 450 years? What happened to 100,000,000 people shut up in the wedge of western Eurasia when they suddenly acquired title to six times the amount of land they had before, fresh land, thinly tenanted, loaded with resources too great to be comprehended? What did all this wealth and the act of appropriating it do to and for the 100,000,000 poverty-stricken people of Western Europe and their descendants?

Slowly the thesis emerged, the boom hypothesis, around which the story was to be told. The Great Frontier precipitated a boom on the Metropolis, a boom of gigantic proportions which began when Columbus returned from his first voyage and accelerated until all the new lands had been appropriated. This boom accompanied the rise of modern civilization and attended the birth of a set of new institutions and ideas designed to service a booming society, chief among them modern democracy and capitalism and the idea of progress. The small booms we know, based on oil or gold or soil, burst when that on which they are based is depleted. They have all been temporary, and the period in which they existed has been considered abnormal. But this big boom, based on all the resources of the Great Frontier, lasted so long that it was considered normal and its institutions permanent. By about 1900 the Great Frontier, of which the American frontier was a fragment, began to close, and as it closed the idea of progress and the efficacy of democracy and capitalism were questioned, put in strain, and since 1914 these boom-born ideas and institutions have been fighting a defensive action. Unless we find some means to restore the boom, future historians may look back on the period from 1500 to 1950 as the Age of the Great Frontier, the most abnormal period in the history of mankind. So ran the argument.

Given the point of view of a Great Frontier set over against the Metropolis, many aspects of modern history fell into place, could be understood rather than remembered. Under the controlling idea, or thesis, many subtheses emerged, such as the windfall theory of wealth, the relation of the Great Frontier to modern romantic literature as illustrated in Coleridge's "Rime of the Ancient Mariner," the utopias, and such feats of imagination as *Gulliver's Travels*, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, and Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, examples of what the Great Frontier did to the human imagination.

In the realm of economics I advanced the theory of the dual circulation of wealth, which, if true, might lead the economists to reexamine their subject

and data and their basic assumptions. The economists have thus far treated wealth as if it had but one motion, circulation from hand to hand among the people. Actually, since the discoveries if not before, wealth has had *two* motions. It circulates horizontally among the people, and in modern times it has moved vertically between the people and the sovereign, and the character of its vertical movement has had profound effects on modern institutions.

By the discoveries the sovereigns of Europe acquired title to all the lands of the Great Frontier. Unable to use so much land, these sovereigns began dispersing it to the people, letting it sift down in townships, leagues, and quarter sections, eventually to small people. This gigantic land dispersal went on constantly from 1600 to 1900, three booming centuries when wealth was moving vertically, from the sovereign downward to the people, making them economically independent and politically free. When the frontier closed, the sovereign had nothing more to give, and then he began the reverse process of taking, not from the frontier, but from some of the people in order to have something to give to others. In short, wealth began making a complete vertical circuit instead of flowing in one direction. This vertical circulation today supplements the horizontal circulation so precious to free enterprisers and keeps it going. If this idea of the dual movement of wealth is true—and it seems obvious once it is pointed out—it should, I thought, have far-reaching implications for the study of modern economics.

The journey through the Great Frontier was a mental adventure of the first magnitude. Many splendid vistas opened, and many things that were familiar took on new meaning. It was lonely there; many times I did not know which way to go, and I, like the boy driving the goats, would have been glad to go home.

As I look back on this program of work, I see in the four books a record of a mental adventure into an expanding world. *The Texas Rangers* was local, simple in structure, and involved little thought. *The Great Plains* was regional, based on a single idea. *Divided We Stand* was national. *The Great Frontier* was international, and, like *The Great Plains*, was the expansion of an idea. The common element in them all is the frontier, dominant in three and present in the fourth. Taken together they tell the story of the expansion of the mind from a hard-packed West Texas dooryard to the outer limits of the Western world.

When one writes of the West and the frontier, the question is sure to arise as to his relation to Frederick J. Turner. It is often said that Webb belongs to the Turner school. I would like to take this opportunity to state my

relation to Turner as I see it. No one respects Turner more than I, and no one is less patient with the critics who take exception to some detail in Turner and argue from this small base that his thesis is wrong. There are few so foolish as to say that the existence of a vast body of free land would not have some effects on the habits, customs, and institutions of those who had access to it. That is essentially what Turner said in his essay about the United States, and that is what I said in *The Great Frontier* about Western European civilization. Though my canvas was bigger than Turner's, and my span of time a century longer, the thesis is the same. Turner looked at a fragment of the frontier; I tried to look at the whole thing. If Turner's thesis is true, then mine is true; if his is a fallacy, then mine is also fallacious. Since Turner was first in time and I a generation later, I will probably always be counted as a part of the Turner school. And this I accept as an honor.

The question that may arise is this: Am I in the frontier school because Turner led me there or because I stumbled into it independently? I think I stumbled in. I cannot prove this, but I would like to submit the evidence of my assumption.

As already stated, I never had a course in western history. I never saw Turner. At the time I began writing *The Great Plains* I had never read the Turner essay and I refrained from reading it until I had completed the study. There is little in Turner's writing to suggest that he anticipated the idea developed in *The Great Plains*. The frontier that he knew was east of the Mississippi.

If I did not follow Turner, whom did I follow? What is my intellectual heritage? You will recall that I have paid repeated tribute to Lindley Miller Keasbey, the talented professor of the nonexistent field of institutional history. It was Keasbey who gave me an understanding for and appreciation of the relationship between an environment and the civilization resting upon it; it was Keasbey who taught me, and many others, to begin with the geology or geography, and build upon this foundation the superstructure of the flora, fauna, and anthropology, arriving at last at the modern civilization growing out of this foundation. Turner did not proceed in that manner, but that is the way I proceeded in *The Great Plains* and less obviously in *The Great Frontier*.

But who is Keasbey? To answer that question, we must go back to the European thinkers who influenced Turner—and Keasbey. Prominent among them was an Italian economist, sociologist, and philosopher named Achille Loria (1857-1943) who wrote in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Loria's name is found in the Turner literature, and Turner quoted him in the 1893 essay.²

As an indication that Turner might have found some comfort in the Italian, I quote the following from Loria: "A tyranny . . . is . . . automatically regulated by the existence of free land, which of itself renders the exercise of true despotic government impossible so long as slavery is unheard of; for the subjects always have a way of avoiding oppression of the sovereign by abandoning him and setting up for themselves upon an unoccupied territory."³

The occasional reference to Loria in the literature caused me to look him up in the library. Imagine my surprise when I found that the English translation of one of Loria's most important books was done by Lindley Miller Keasbey of institutional history. If Loria influenced Turner, he most certainly influenced Keasbey, who influenced me more than any other man. If this is my line of descent, then I am on a collateral line from the European scholars through Keasbey rather than from those scholars by way of Turner.

A book dealing with an idea and its ramifications, with a thesis or interpretation, is more likely to be kicked around by the critics than one that sticks to the facts, and this may explain why nonventuresome historians, schooled in intellectual timidity, are so factual. Both *The Great Plains* and *The Great Frontier* are idea books, and each has received its share of critical attention. This is to be expected and as it should be. If an idea or interpretation cannot survive a critic, any critic, it is no good anyway. If the idea is sound, then the criticism advertises and spreads it. William E. Dodd told us once never to reply to a critic, and I have never voluntarily done so. The critic is entitled to his view and the author will waste his time trying to change it. The idea has its own destiny, and once launched it is independent of both author and critic.

In conclusion I want to pay tribute to a group not accustomed to receiving it. I refer to several generations of graduate students who have generously contributed their time, effort, and ingenuity in working out the details and ramifications of ideas presented to them in seminar. I have no

² Turner quotes from Loria's *Analisi della proprietà capitalisti* (2 vols., Turin, 1889), II, 15, as follows: "America has the key to the historical enigma which Europe has sought for centuries in vain, and the land which has no history reveals luminously the course of universal history." See Turner's footnote, page 207, in the 1893 essay, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1893 (Washington, D. C., 1894), 199-227.

³ *The Economic Foundations of Society*, tr. Keasbey (New York, 1899), 23. Loria published the first edition of this work in 1885. The above sentence is taken from the revised edition of 1899, the only one available to me.

notion of what they got from me, but I do know that I got a great deal from them, and they a great deal from one another.

They were good companions on some exciting intellectual excursions into the Great Plains and into the vastly greater frontier. Some of them will have their own story to tell and I trust they will have the courage to tell it as they see it, and never as they think I might want it told. I would rather liberate than bind them.

This exercise tonight comes at the end of my academic service. This address is the last act of an official character that I expect to perform, a sort of climax to a high adventure. Because my performance can bring no rewards and inflict no penalties, I have said what I wanted to say in the way that I wanted to say it. If what I have said is unorthodox, it is consistent with much that I have done. I do not recommend my course to others, but it seems in retrospect almost inevitable for me.

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The Azaña Regime in Perspective (Spain, 1931-1933)

GABRIEL JACKSON

IN April, 1931, Alfonso XIII, vacating his throne peaceably, handed the reins of power to a provisional government composed of the several republican parties and the Socialists. In June the freely elected Constituent Cortes met to write a republican constitution. As the general lines of division within the chamber gradually became clear during the summer, a coalition of liberal republicans and Socialists emerged as the dominant bloc; and from October, 1931, to September, 1933, Manuel Azaña, whom friends and enemies alike referred to as the soul of the Republic, served as Prime Minister of successive coalition cabinets. Despite a world depression, several military uprisings, and the restlessness of workers and peasants, the stability of the government was not seriously threatened until the fall of 1933. The Azaña regime thus presented a unique political opportunity to those forces that were seeking a democratic, reformist, laic solution for the multiple problems of Spain. The leaders of the republican-Socialist coalition had matured during the vigorous economic and cultural renaissance of late nineteenth-and twentieth-century Spain. Their republic was intended simultaneously to fulfill that renaissance and to give Spain a constitution embodying the most advanced European democratic features. The formation of the constitution has been amply dealt with elsewhere.¹ It is the purpose of the present article to explore the relationship between the policies and accomplishments of the Azaña regime and the main economic, political, and cultural currents of late nineteenth- and twentieth-century Spain.

The seventy-odd years preceeding 1931 constituted a period of substantial economic growth, though progress was significantly slower after 1918 than up to that time. Neither reliable statistics nor thorough analyses of the Spanish economy are available, but it is possible to discern the major trends.²

¹ See Luis Jiménez de Asúa, *Proceso histórico de la constitución de la república española* (Madrid, 1932) and Rhea Marsh Smith, *The Day of the Liberals in Spain* (Philadelphia, 1938). Jiménez de Asúa was the chairman of the constitutional commission of the Cortes.

² All sources hereafter cited depend for their statistics principally on the publications of the Instituto Geográfico y Estadístico; these in turn are not subject to any scientific check, but numerous technical shortcomings as well as motives of genial deception force the student to allow a wide margin of error. It is well known, for example, that evasion of customs regulations renders export and import figures too low, and that much landed wealth is never declared in the census. Nevertheless, a careful study of these sources, in particular of the *Anuario Estadístico*

Agricultural and industrial production were rising steadily in Spain from the 1860's through 1914, although there were temporary downturns during periods such as the two years following the Spanish-American War. World War I created boom conditions in the big industries, particularly steel and textiles. But after 1918 Spain was unable to hold her wartime markets, and in the 1920's neither agricultural nor industrial production maintained the pre-1914 expansion except in certain agricultural exports and a few newer industries, notably chemicals and hydroelectric development.³ Spain's population increased steadily through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Both new businesses and the creation of public services in the cities contributed to raise the urban standard of living. The cost of living as well rose steadily, though it was not so high in the 1920's as at the peak of war prosperity. Emigration relieved the population pressure somewhat in both prewar and postwar periods but came to a virtual end with the depression of 1930.⁴

Spain's industrial development took place behind increasingly high tariff walls from 1888 onward, and was largely dependent upon foreign capital, raw materials, and technical guidance.⁵ Both circumstances made for high costs of production and high prices, while dependence on foreign capital had increasingly irritated the pride of Spaniards of all political persuasions. Spain's international trade developed steadily in value until the world depression of 1930.⁶ But her unfavorable balance of trade, her dependence on foreign capital, and her political instability made the peseta one of the weakest of European currencies, a fact that in good times concerned only statisticians, but which was always likely to become an important consideration of prestige for ministries whose general political position was weak.

de España (Madrid, 1914-34) and the *Boletín del Ministerio de Trabajo y Previsión* (Madrid, 1929-36), could provide a much fuller account than any now available on the Spanish economy in the present century.

³ On general economic development see Conde de Romanones, *Las responsabilidades políticas del antiguo régimen de 1875 a 1923* (Madrid, 192[?]) and Miguel de Antonio, *El potencial económico de España* (Madrid, 1935) for intelligent analysis supported by statistics. The best recent volume of facts and figures on the economy is M. Fuentes Irurozqui, *Síntesis de la economía española* (Madrid, 1946).

⁴ On emigration see, for the pre-1914 period, Angel Marvaud, *L'Espagne au xx^e siècle* (Paris, 1913), 379-82; for the postwar period, Juan Fábregas, *La crisis mundial y sus repercusiones en España* (Barcelona, 1933), 154-55.

⁵ An excellent nontechnical analysis of the role of foreign capital is given in Arturo and Ilsa Barea, *Spain in the Postwar World* (London, 1945), 8-13. Sr. Barea was a patent official whose profession gave him a wide knowledge of the methods of foreign capital in Spain.

⁶ Spanish tariff policies and international trade have been studied more intensively abroad than at home. See Jean Baelen, *Principaux traits du développement économique de l'Espagne* (Paris, 1924); and Georg Ackermann, *Spanien Wirtschaftlich Gesehen* (Berlin, 1939). The latter volume illustrates the important German concern with Spain's mines and industries, and the effect on them of both tariffs and political considerations.

The progress and the problems of the economy highlighted for thinking Spaniards their unsolved political problems. In 1873 Spain's First Republic had been torn to pieces by cantonalist revolts on the Left and the recrudescence of Carlist war on the Right.⁷ In 1875 the Restoration, by ending the Carlist wars and establishing a constitutional monarchy of mildly liberal tendency, had encouraged the beginnings of Spain's economic and cultural recovery. But elections were thoroughly controlled. The Conservatives and Liberals alternated in power by gentlemen's agreement. The Parliament was only a forum for oratory. In the countryside the *caciques* ruled the masses, combining ordinary machine political methods with more powerful pressures such as control of seasonal employment, water rights, and grazing grounds. They reinforced these economic pressures when necessary by the brute force of the *Guardia Civil*. Beneath the veneer of parliamentary government Spain was dividing along class and regional lines.

Not only was the monarchy bankrupt, but large sectors of the Spanish people were being alienated from their traditional Catholic faith. The rural workers of Andalusia and the Levant coast turned in large segments to Bakuninist anarchism, the urban workers of the central and northern provinces tended toward Marxian socialism, and the industrial proletariat of Catalonia toward syndicalism. Among the educated classes various forms of neo-Kantian philosophy, of positivism, of utopian and Marxian socialism eroded the traditional faith. Increasingly secular thought was of course characteristic of the whole European world, but the explosive potential was perhaps greater in Spain because of the always ardent Spanish desire to govern life according to a transcendent ideal. New ideas tended to be important not so much for their practical consequences in some limited sphere of activity as for their ability to satisfy the Spanish thirst for spiritual unity and inspiration.

During the period 1875-1931 there was a steady and growing republican movement. It was always more significant for the quality and prestige of its adherents than for numbers, and it lacked substantial political organization until the last years of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. In general the republican program asked for constitutional, representative government complete with universal suffrage, honest elections, and the civil liberties characteristic of the United States and the advanced European states; elimination of the army from the political life of the nation; curbs on the economic power of the Church as well as secularization of education and the passage

⁷ The history of the Revolution of 1868 and the First Republic has been ably told in English in Joseph Brandt, *Towards a New Spain* (Chicago, 1933).

of civil laws governing marriage, divorce, and burial. The Republicans also favored, but never consistently fought for, land reform, irrigation works, road and harbor improvements—in general such economic measures as would strengthen the urban middle class and help to create a class of small independent farmers. They tended to sympathize with federalist rather than centralist solutions for the ever-recurring problem of regionalism.

Most important throughout both the Restoration and the reign of Alfonso XIII was the broad educational and philosophical influence of the Spanish disciples of the early nineteenth-century German philosopher Krause. The spiritual center of the Krausist movement was the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, a private school founded in Madrid in 1876 and startlingly similar in outlook and method to contemporary American progressive institutions such as the Dalton or the Putney Schools. Neither the founder, Francisco Giner de los Ríos, nor his chief collaborators, Joaquín Costa, Manuel B. Cossío, and Gumersindo de Azcárate, were associated with political parties. But their ideas on such diverse subjects as primary education, law, art, Spanish economic problems, and cultural history decisively influenced the program of the Republic of 1931. Their lofty humanism appealed to many educated Spaniards as an ideal Catholicism purged of the institutional shortcomings of the Church.⁸ Krausism represented, for its partisans and enemies alike, the modern embodiment of the humanist, heterodox Catholicism of Erasmus, of Luis Vives, of Giordano Bruno. A high proportion of the deputies and ministers of the Second Republic were at once graduates of the *Institución*, ardent admirers of Giner, and conscious partisans of the Erasmist tradition.⁹ Krausist and republican thought achieved its most concrete expression in the years 1931–1933.

Full understanding of those years requires some knowledge of the nature of the Constituent Cortes. In the chamber of 470 deputies the largest parties were the Socialists, with about 120 deputies, and the Radicals with some 90. The Cortes did not operate, however, on party principles in the British or American sense. Thus many individual deputies seated themselves at different times with the government's supporters or with the opposition, according to individual conviction rather than party directive. Leading figures

⁸ The Abbé Pierre Jobit, whose *Les éducateurs de l'Espagne moderne* (Paris, 1936) is the indispensable work on the Krausist philosophy, calls Krausism in Spain "premodernism."

⁹ J. B. Trend, *The Origins of Modern Spain* (Cambridge, Eng., 1934), discusses the intellectual temper of Spain in the late nineteenth century, dwelling particularly on university circles. The spirit of the Krausists can best be sampled in a periodical of great philosophical and educational interest, the *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (Madrid, 1877–1936). The whole Erasmist tradition, which has no real counterpart in Western European thought, may be studied in Marcel Bataillon, *L'Érasme et l'Espagne* (Paris, 1937; available also in a Spanish edition, *Erasmus y España* [2 vols., Mexico, D. F., and Buenos Aires, 1950]).

in the government frequently did not represent the largest parties. Both Alcalá-Zamora, first Prime Minister and later President of the Republic, and Manuel Azaña, leading figure of the whole period, belonged to a party with less than thirty deputies.¹⁰ The fluidity of party lines was further emphasized by factional divisions. Thus such intellectual Socialists as Jiménez de Asúa and Fernando de los Ríos were closer to the several small republican parties than to the working-class followers of Largo Caballero. Similarly the Radical party, though it constituted the nucleus of the conservative republican opposition, contained a minority that frequently supported the Azaña government. Early in 1934, after the electoral victory of a conservative coalition, Martínez Barrios, formerly second only to Lerroux in the Radical party, joined Azaña.

An important transitional role was played by leaders such as Alcalá-Zamora and Dr. Marañón who had only declared themselves republicans after the fall of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship.¹¹ These men were concerned with constitutional rather than republican government, and with assuring a peaceful transition to the new regime once they had become convinced that it was impossible to achieve constitutional government within the framework of the monarchy. Alcalá-Zamora had been a royal official and a protégé of the Count of Romanones. Dr. Marañón numbered the royal family among his patients. In 1926 he had been fined for his part in the Night of St. John plot. The leading figure in that conspiracy had been the Count of Romanones and his presumed purpose had been to remove the dictator and restore the constitutional monarchy.¹² Marañón, Alcalá-Zamora, and many other prominent politicians who had had no quarrel with the monarchy rallied to the Republic in the hope of exercising a restraining influence on the anticipated revolution. The choice of Alcalá-Zamora as provisional Prime Minister did much to calm the initial fears of Catholics

¹⁰ The difficulty of labeling both parties and individuals will be appreciated by any reader who compares the efforts of various scholars to analyze the composition of the Cortes. Even the numbers assigned to each party vary because each analyst must make an educated guess about the actual affiliation of many a deputy. See for example Smith, *The Day of the Liberals in Spain*, 116-17; E. Allison Peers, *The Spanish Tragedy, 1930-36* (New York, 1936), 61; Frank E. Manuel, *The Politics of Modern Spain* (New York, 1938), 66; and Gerald Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth* (Cambridge, Eng., 1943), 232-34.

¹¹ See, for example, the interview with Alcalá-Zamora reported by the French Socialist Jules Moch in Germaine Picard-Moch and Jules Moch, *L'Espagne républicaine* (Paris, 1933), 41. Questioned about his recent conversion, he stated simply that his first loyalty was to the constitution and that he had resigned his royal post when the King had violated the constitution. In 1930 Dr. Marañón wrote a thoroughly laudatory introduction to a book which advocated a British-type limited monarchy rather than a republic as the solution to Spain's political problems. See Francisco Villanueva, *Obstáculos tradicionales* (2 vols., Madrid, 1930), prologue by Dr. Marañón.

¹² Gabriel Maura Gamazo, *Bosquejo histórico de la dictadura* (2 vols., Madrid, 1930), I, 170-72.

and monarchists at the moment of the change. Months later, as such men became increasingly estranged from the republican-Socialist majority, they nevertheless continued to support the Republic against the opposition of the miniscule Communist party¹³ and against the sporadic outbreaks of anarchist and military violence.

Despite the multiplicity of party labels and shifting loyalties, a working majority of the Cortes had accepted the leadership of Manuel Azaña by the fall of 1931. The Azaña coalition consisted of about 250 deputies of the Socialist party, two liberal republican groups: the Radical Socialists led by Alvaro de Albornoz, and Republican Action, which was the party of Azaña himself; and two other republican groups similar in general outlook to the above parties, but committed to regional autonomy—the Galician Federalists of Casares Quiroga, and the Catalan *Esquerra* (Left). Until mid-1933 this coalition showed in practice, if not in theory, much the same degree of unity as one finds in the British Labour party or a Scandinavian Social Democratic party. There was friendly discussion of a possible merger between Republican Action and the Radical Socialists,¹⁴ and the Galician and Catalan deputies found in Azaña a premier fully sympathetic to their regional aims. For Azaña in turn it was axiomatic that he could not govern without the active cooperation of the Socialists. There was a long tradition of friendly relations between Socialist and republican leaders under the monarchy, and an assumption on the part of men like Albornoz and Azaña in the late 1920's that under the Republic, which they were confident would come, republicans and Socialists would naturally share power.¹⁵

Ideological differences were by no means insuperable, as the Marxism of the Socialist intellectuals was scarcely more radical than the liberalism of the almost contemporary New Deal in the United States. Writing in the spring of 1932, the Socialist Jiménez de Asúa defined, in the order of their importance, the following tasks for the young Republic: to determine the responsibilities of the old regime and to write a constitution; to reform the army, to regulate the relation of the Church to the laic state, and of the regions to the central government; to build schools, improve the system of justice, and proceed with agrarian reform.¹⁶ To determine the "responsi-

¹³ See David T. Cattell, *Communism and the Spanish Civil War* (Berkeley, Calif., 1955), 20–22. The party numbered at most one thousand in the spring of 1931. It could elect no one to the Constituent Cortes, and was split the following year by the defection of its principal leaders, Joaquín Maurín and Andrés Nin.

¹⁴ See the interviews with Albornoz and Azaña in Moch, *L'Espagne républicaine*, 71–72.

¹⁵ This idea is clearly developed in the prologue written by Albornoz to the short volume by the young Socialist Gabriel Morón, *El partido socialista ante la realidad política de España* (Madrid, 1929).

¹⁶ Luis Jiménez de Asúa, "The First Year of the Spanish Republic," *Foreign Affairs*, X

bilities" meant to expose the role of the army, the King, and the corrupt politicians in the Primo de Rivera coup of 1923. The parliamentary investigation and ultimate condemnation of the former King provided those conservatives who had recently rallied to the Republic with an opportunity to dissociate themselves from *el Rey Chico*. It provided liberals and Socialists with an opportunity to educate public opinion concerning the evils of military intervention in politics. It provided everyone with an opportunity to blame Spain's historic ills on the King and to create a temporary feeling of unity and virtue among the diverse republican forces. The remainder of Sr. Jiménez de Asúa's program was bound to arouse conservative opposition, but nothing in his program would have frightened any of the members of the republican parties in the Azaña coalition. Moreover, much of it was in accord with Krausist idealism.

The combination of the Krausist heritage with European socialism is perhaps best epitomized in the person of Fernando de los Ríos, professor of law, Socialist deputy, Minister of Justice, and later of Education, under Azaña. From Krause and from his uncle Francisco Giner, the young man imbibed the ideal of human perfectibility through improvements in education and through fuller social justice. From Kant and from followers of Kant including Krause, he gained his concern for "Man" as an *end*. The study of Marx had convinced him that capitalism had liberated things while enslaving men, and that socialism would be necessary to correct the evils of a society in which profits and property had more rights than men. A visit to Russia in 1920, however, had shown him the dangers of any dictatorship, no matter how praiseworthy the ends sought by that dictatorship. By 1926 he had defined for himself his "humanist socialism," of which the economic reorganization of society would be only a part. Humanist socialism must work by persuasion only, must defend existing liberty, and assimilate to its whole political outlook the ethical teachings of Kant and the Krausists. Such a socialism would be the true successor in spirit to the Erasmist and humanist traditions of sixteenth-century Spain.¹⁷

(July, 1932), 659-76. Sr. Jiménez, a Socialist and a well-known specialist in constitutional law, was the leading member of the Comisión Parlamentaria de Constitución chosen by the Cortes to draft the republican constitution.

¹⁷ Dardo Cuneo, "Fernando de los Ríos y el socialismo humanista," *Cuadernos Americanos*, LXXVIII (Nov.-Dec., 1954), 85-113. A very similar course of intellectual development is indicated by the autobiographical passages in Rodolfo Llopis, *Hacia una escuela más humana* (Madrid, 1934). Llopis was Director of Primary Education and a Socialist. Interesting to note in the present connection is the following passage of the great Spanish scholar Américo Castro: "The Hieronymites, conversos, and humanists of the fifteenth century are called Erasmists . . . in the sixteenth; rationalists . . . in the eighteenth; francophiles, Krausists, and Europeanizers in the nineteenth. Today they are called émigrés." A. Castro, *Aspectos del vivir hispánico* (Santiago de Chile, 1949), 121-22.

The ideals of the republican and Socialist leaders were to be quickly tested in action after the flight of the King. Inheriting both a world depression and the problems of the bankrupt monarchy, the government was obliged to act rapidly on many long-standing issues. Here we can but analyze the most important currents of republican policy without attempting to recapitulate in detail the political history of the period.¹⁸ Most obvious of the government's early difficulties was the immediate financial crisis caused by the fall of the peseta and the flight abroad of about one-fifth billion pesetas during the first eight months of the Republic's existence.¹⁹ The depreciation of the peseta was a long-term development against which the Primo de Rivera government had struggled unsuccessfully through the twenties, but the depreciation following the proclamation of the Republic was much more rapid than that of the past, and the flight of capital abroad clearly reflected the fears of the wealthy. The republican government attempted to end speculation within Spain and to impose strict control on all gold and foreign exchange transactions. It required government licenses for all purchases of foreign equipment, the maintenance of foreign bank accounts, and the use of capital for businesses outside Spain. Through the *Centro Oficial de Contratación de Moneda* it managed all foreign exchange operations and slowed down the export of capital, sometimes delaying even licensed payments abroad by as much as six months. Through these measures the downward trend was arrested early in 1932, and the peseta stabilized by 1934, though at the sacrifice of a portion of Spain's foreign trade. The government did not attempt to "peg" the peseta, and it did not use its gold reserves to prevent depreciation.²⁰

Opinions in Spain varied, as they do elsewhere, as to the significance of depreciation and the wisdom of manipulating the currency. The important point for the present discussion is that the republican finance ministers, the Socialist Prieto, and the Catalan republican Jaime Carner practiced policies which Spanish financiers had recommended in 1928, whereas the Primo government had ignored this advice in favor of a costly effort to revalue the peseta for prestige reasons, with a resulting loss of gold reserves and an increasing market speculation in pesetas.²¹ The coalition government indi-

¹⁸ See Manuel, *The Politics of Modern Spain*, for a brief, clear political history of the Republic.

¹⁹ The figures are those of the Banco Soler y Torra Hermanos de Barcelona, quoted in Elli Linder, *El derecho arancelario español* (Barcelona, 1934), 137 ff.

²⁰ Charles Lefauchaux, *La peseta et l'économie espagnole depuis 1928* (Paris, 1935), 50-60. Lefauchaux gives the clearest available account of the complex financial policies of the Primo, Berenguer, and republican governments.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 27-34.

cated its conservative economic character also by retaining Spain's ultra-protective tariff, by applying strict import quotas to both manufactured goods and foods, and by extending to new industries the "consortium" policy of Primo de Rivera, a form of management-labor-marketing control imitative of Mussolini's corporate state.

Of decisive importance among the early actions of the new government was its reform of the army. In the nineteenth century the army had made and unmade governments, and from 1923 to 1930 Spain had been ruled by a military dictator. Primo de Rivera had, however, laid the basis for a later diminution of the army by his popular termination of the Moroccan war. The Republic, whose legitimacy was acknowledged at the time even by its avowed enemies,²² was determined to eliminate the army from the political life of the nation. As the first republican Minister of War, Azaña offered all Spanish officers the opportunity to retire on full pay, and formulated the following plans: to cut the size of the army by about half, to reorganize the remaining divisions with modern equipment, and to recruit officers in the future from the noncommissioned ranks. He hoped thus to save money, increase efficiency, and democratize the army while building an officer corps loyal to the Republic.²³ Given time, he might well have succeeded, but the immediate results boded ill for the future. The majority of republican-minded officers took the opportunity to retire, and the leading generals, seeing their caste position and their political influence clearly threatened, became more monarchist in sentiment than they had been in the twenties. The government in the period 1931-1933 was able easily to suppress the several military risings against it, notably that of General Sanjurjo in 1932. The public pronouncements and the private conduct of the generals, however, showed their almost pathological hatred of Azaña and their conviction that the Republic intended to destroy the honor and the substance of the Spanish army.²⁴ Within five years they were to seize the opportunity to destroy quickly the Republic which had humiliated them but not deprived them of power.

²² Conde de Romanones, *Las últimas horas de una monarquía* (Madrid, 1931), 81. After pointing out that the Revolution of 1868, the Restoration of 1875, and the dictatorship of 1923 had all resulted from military action, the one acknowledged monarchist in the new Cortes wrote: "This time, the Second Republic did not triumph through military sedition, but through the manifestation of the popular will of the nation at the polls, honorably respected by the supreme powers of the country."

²³ See Manuel Azaña, *Una política* (Madrid, 1932), 141-72. Azaña made his reputation as Minister of War before becoming Premier. He explained the army reform December 2, 1931, on the occasion of a speech to the Cortes.

²⁴ For concentrated hatred of Azaña and general feelings of persecution, see Emilio Mola Vidal, *El pasado, Azaña, y el porvenir* (Madrid, 1934), especially 155-68. For the attitude of professional officers partisan to Sanjurjo, see Emilio Esteban-Infantes, *La sublevación del General Sanjurjo* (Madrid, 1933).

The considerable economies achieved by army reform, coupled with the paring of padded departmental budgets, made funds available for all kinds of public works. Ever since the days of Joaquín Costa irrigation and hydroelectric development had held an important place in all plans for the economic recovery of Spain.²⁵ During the prosperous twenties Primo de Rivera had spent an average of sixty to eighty million pesetas annually on what Costa had dubbed *política hidráulica*. But the Republic appropriated eighty millions in 1932, 175 millions in 1933,²⁶ and undertook coordinated planning of the whole development under the nonpolitical chairmanship of Manuel Lorenzo Pardo, leading Spanish hydraulic engineer and a disciple of Costa.²⁷ During these years, also, the government spent large sums on parks, clinics, and tuberculosis sanatoria.²⁸ Primo de Rivera had built a number of arterial highways in the 1920's. Azaña's Minister of Public Works, Indalecio Prieto (a Socialist and a successful "selfmade" businessman), followed this with the building of secondary rural roads, and with electrification and centralized direction of the railways. He also planned a railroad tunnel under Madrid which would for the first time connect the trunk lines to the eastern, northern, and southern provinces, each of which had (and still has) its own terminus.²⁹ As the building of schools was another immediate concern of the Republic, a 400,000,000 peseta loan was floated for such construction in 1932.³⁰ When in October of that year thousands of peasants were granted temporary occupation rights on uncultivated land, the government paid their rent to the legal owners.³¹

Although the Azaña coalition demonstrated in its expenditures a broad concern for human welfare, it failed to meet energetically the gravest economic-social issue of the times, agrarian reform. In the government's policy on this thorny problem may be seen simultaneously its generosity, its timidity, its concern for legality, its fear of the masses, and its uncertainty of

²⁵ Gabriel Jackson, "Joaquín Costa, Prophet of Spanish National Recovery," *South Atlantic Quarterly* (Apr., 1954), 181-92.

²⁶ *Exposición gráfica del plan nacional de obras hidráulicas. Guía* (Madrid, 1933), 5. The author owes possession of this material to the kindness of Sr. Lorenzo Pardo.

²⁷ For an authoritative exposition of the *Plan Nacional*, see Pedro González-Blanco, *Ordenación y prosperidad de España* (Madrid, 1934), 81-142.

²⁸ A. Ramos Oliveira, *Politics, Economics, and Men of Modern Spain, 1808-1946* (London, 1946), 458-59.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 459-61. See also Moch, *L'Espagne républicaine*, 231-42, and Juan Guixé, *Le vrai visage de la république espagnole* (Paris, 1938), 129-38. The political conflicts of the time and then the tragic civil war have completely overshadowed the wide variety of beneficial economic and social undertakings of the Azaña ministry. Sr. Prieto has published much about his role in the civil war, but not about his work in the years 1931-1933. We are dependent for a written record on sympathetic journalists of the time, such as M. and Mme. Moch, French Socialists; Ramos Oliveria, editor of *El Socialista*; and J. Guixé, a disciple of Joaquín Costa.

³⁰ Moch, *L'Espagne républicaine*, 194.

³¹ Spain. Instituto de Reforma Agraria. *Agrarian Reform in Spain* (London, 1937), 30.

direction. Recognizing the immediacy of the problem, it proceeded by decree in May and June of 1931 to protect peasants against arbitrary dispossession by absentee landlords, to make loans to small proprietors, to authorize the renting to peasants of state and municipal lands, and to give regional labor union representatives a voice in the arbitration of local disputes.³² When the Constituent Cortes met in July, both republicans and moderate Socialists were anxious that fair compensation be paid for all expropriated land and that all legal titles to the land be clear before expropriation became final. Decades of litigation would have been necessary to comply with the full terms of the statute finally voted in September, 1932.³³ And its adoption, even in inadequate form, was delayed for over a year by the impassioned struggle in the Cortes over the Church and the orders, by numerous *jacqueries* which frightened the government, and by inability to decide whether individual farming (the preferred solution of the republicans) or collective farming (the preferred solution of the socialist masses) should be encouraged.³⁴ All that the government could claim was that 12,260 peasants had been settled on 116,838 hectares of land by December 31, 1934, in a nation whose landless peasantry numbered in the millions and where the fourteen largest estates totaled 383,065 hectares.³⁵

The most troublesome problems facing the Cortes concerned the position of the Church and the nature of the educational system of the new Republic. These two questions were intertwined. Teaching orders administered a large proportion of the existing primary and secondary schools, and Church and state had long struggled over the religious curriculum at all levels of education.³⁶ In the Cortes and the press Spaniards had engaged in a prolonged controversy over the political and economic power of the Church. The Republic, in the course of more than a year of highly emotional debate, separated Church and state, decreed the end of state subsidies to the Church after a transition period of two years, dissolved the Jesuits, required all orders to submit to the government an annual accounting of their income and expenditures, and forbade them to engage in industry, trade, or teaching.

We have noted already the decline of Catholic belief in late nineteenth- and twentieth-century Spain, and the intimate connection between republicanism and the heterodox tradition. The Church was itself aware, however

³² *Ibid.*, 25-27 and Moch, *L'Espagne républicaine*, 255-56.

³³ Spain. Laws, Statutes, etc. *Ley de Reforma Agraria* (Madrid, 1932). See in particular Art. 5, para. 12, and Art. 9 for the extraordinary legal complexity of the reform.

³⁴ Both political and economic aspects of this question are treated objectively in Pascual Carrión, *Los latifundios en España* (Madrid, 1932).

³⁵ *Agrarian Reform in Spain*, 29-32.

³⁶ Rodolfo Llopis, *Hacia una escuela más humana* (Madrid, 1934), 26 ff.

unhappily, that the majority of adult Spaniards, except perhaps in Navarre and the Basque country, were not active communicants.³⁷ Likewise a high proportion of thinking Spaniards were convinced that the wealthier bishoprics and orders possessed huge hidden economic resources, and that their refusal to acknowledge and account for these, taken together with the obvious poverty of the rural clergy, was in a profound sense immoral.³⁸ Many of the faithful thought that the Church itself might benefit from the separation;³⁹ and the effort to account for the numbers, activities, and income of the orders had been a major objective of several Spanish governments ever since the passage of the first registration law, the "Law of Associations," in 1887.⁴⁰ With regard to teaching it was evident from the beginning that the Republic would be unable in so short a time to replace the services of the teaching orders, and that vindictiveness motivated the effort totally to expel the orders from the field of education.⁴¹

But consideration of practical questions of economic power and teacher availability do not begin to plumb the emotional depths of the Cortes debate over the Church. The impassioned and carefully thought-out speeches of Fernando de los Ríos (Socialist) and Alvaro de Albornoz (Radical Socialist) on one side, and those of Gil Robles (Catholic) and Antonio de Pildain (lectoral canon of Vitoria and a Basque deputy) on the other, ranged over the history of the Spanish Church from Visigothic days to the present.⁴² The Republic was identified with the struggle against the Inquisition, with

³⁷ The survey of Father P. Francisco Peiró, *El problema religioso-social de España* (Madrid, 1936), which indicates extremely low church attendance among all classes, both in urban and rural areas, is quoted on the educational problem by Franco publicists as well as by republicans.

³⁸ Estimates of the income of the larger bishoprics and orders vary widely, and no subject in recent Spanish history is more laden with emotional overtones. Remembering always that numerical accuracy is impossible to achieve on this question, the author believes that considerable understanding of the nature of the problem can be gained from the reading of J. Torrubiano Ripoll, *Beatería y religión* (Madrid, 1930). This volume brings together a series of articles originally published in *El Liberal* during the twenties. The discussion is much more specific than is usual in such writings. Republican orators more than once referred to the factual material of Torrubiano in their discussions in the Constituent Cortes of the religious question. During the period of the Constituent Cortes the author was a member of the conservative republican party of Alcalá-Zamora.

³⁹ Representative of this viewpoint was the Catholic law professor Alfred Mendizábal, whose book *Aux origines d'une tragédie* (Paris, 1937) was published under the auspices of Jacques Maritain. Without offering figures as does Peiró, Mendizábal refers repeatedly to the alienation of the masses from the Church.

⁴⁰ See Melchor Fernández Almagro, *Historia del reinado de Alfonso XIII* (Barcelona, 1933), 21-22, 100-110, and 171-72 for the efforts of Liberal governments in 1902, 1906, and 1910 to obtain the compliance of the orders to the Law of Associations.

⁴¹ An able and sympathetic analysis of the role of the teaching orders is given in E. Allison Peers, *Spain, the Church, and the Orders* (London, 1939).

⁴² For the major addresses of De los Ríos and Gil Robles in the October, 1931, debate, see Arturo Mori, *Crónica de las Cortes Constituyentes de la segunda república española* (Madrid, 1932-33), III, 13-37; Alvaro de Albornoz, *La política religiosa de la república* (Madrid, 1935); Antonio de Pildain y Zapiain, *En defensa de la Iglesia y la libertad de enseñanza* (Madrid, 1935).

the *erasmistas* of the sixteenth century, the *afrancesados* of the eighteenth, the *krausistas* of the nineteenth and the twentieth. The defense of the Church was identified with the national mission of Spain in the *Reconquista*, with the defense of contemporary Spain against the sins of liberalism and materialism. Once the floodgates had been opened, no one could consider calmly the real need for a new relationship between Church and state or a solution of Spain's basic educational problems. The deputies applauded, interpolated, courteously eulogized their opponents' sincerity, and poured salt on the wounds that would soon make further cooperation impossible. When the bitterly contested Article 26 of the Constitution, defining the new position of the Church, was voted, barely more than half the deputies were present. Sr. Albornoz himself was among the absentees.⁴³

The grievous debate did not, however, prevent the Republic from enacting specific educational measures, and these indicate clearly the direction it would have followed extensively had time permitted. It established in Madrid and Barcelona model public schools that featured manual as well as intellectual training, student government, a minimum of imposed discipline and memory work, parent-teacher meetings, free lunches, and field trips. The benefits of the *Institución Libre* were to be extended to the Spanish masses.⁴⁴ The desire to bring Spain's cultural heritage to the most neglected rural areas (a dream of the great teacher and art historian Manuel B. Cossío as early as 1882) took shape in the organization of the *Patronato de misiones pedagógicas*. Cossío, too old and ill to participate actively, became the honorary chairman. Small libraries were founded in the villages, and groups of university students volunteered their services for traveling medical units and theater companies.⁴⁵ Figures on the government's school-building program vary considerably, but even hostile writers grant that the Azaña government spent far more than any of its predecessors. Every ministry from the turn of the century to 1931 had proclaimed the need for more schools, but since they neither wished to encourage Church-dominated schools nor to spread the influence of the *Institución Libre* they did very little to advance primary edu-

⁴³ Peers, *The Spanish Tragedy*, 73.

⁴⁴ The program of the Republic in elementary education is the principal subject of the previously cited work of Rodolfo Llopis, *Hacia una escuela más humana*. The author discusses not only the heritage of Francisco Giner, but the American "progressive" schools and the pedagogic experiments of the Soviet Union in the 1920's. Descriptions of the functioning of the model schools are given in Moch, *L'Espagne républicaine*, 186 ff.

⁴⁵ G. Somolinos D'Ardois, "Las misiones pedagógicas de España, 1931-6," *Cuadernos Americanos* (Sept.-Oct., 1953), 206-24; Luis A. Santullano, *El pensamiento vivo de Manuel B. Cossío* (Buenos Aires, 1946), a biographical sketch and selection of Cossío's writings by the actual director of the missions; Alexander Casona, *Una misión pedagógica-social en Sanabria* (Buenos Aires, 1941) for the personal testimony of a participant.

cation of any sort in Spain.⁴⁶ But when the Church schools were closed in 1933 the Republic deprived itself of far more classrooms and teachers than it could adequately replace.⁴⁷

In the midst of its difficulties over land reform and religious policy the Azaña ministry achieved one notable success which under more auspicious circumstances might have opened a new era for Spain. Ever since the middle of the nineteenth century the province of Catalonia had been demanding political and cultural autonomy. Primo de Rivera had promised satisfaction for this demand, but once in power had suppressed both local government and the several cultural and artistic manifestations of Catalanism. One of the fortunate circumstances of Spanish politics in 1931 was that the ascendancy of the Azaña coalition in Madrid coincided with the victory in Catalonia of the *Esquerra*, a party devoted as much to social reform as to regional autonomy. With several prominent Catalans serving in the cabinet, and with conservatives such as Miguel Maura and Alejandro Lerroux expressing a willingness to grant a measure of autonomy, Azaña seized the opportunity to press for a statute. Passed in September, 1932, it granted linguistic autonomy, a regional parliament (the *Generalitat*), and considerable local control of taxation. Azaña, his colleagues in Madrid, and Luis Companys, leading figure in the Barcelona government, hoped that generosity on the part of the central government, taken together with the emphasis placed by both governments on social legislation, would reduce the historic antagonism between Castile and Catalonia.⁴⁸

Yet despite its many positive achievements, the coalition disintegrated during 1933. Its loss of confident purpose and unity were clear well in advance of its defeat at the polls in November of that year. Such rapid disillusionment with a government that was fulfilling many of the humanitarian and secularly oriented ideals of the growing middle classes cannot be explained without examining the inner limitations of the republican leadership.

⁴⁶ Marie R. Madden, "The Church and Catholic Action in Spain," *Catholic Historical Review*, XVIII (Apr., 1932), 41.

⁴⁷ See Mendizábal, *Aux origines*, 170-71, for an analysis of the purely material obstacles. Peers, in his *Spain, the Church, and the Orders*, 150-52, makes the same criticisms as does Mendizábal, but also credits the government with vigorous accomplishment in comparison with its predecessors, and considers that "little real progress" was made in the period 1934-1935.

⁴⁸ See three major speeches of Azaña in the Cortes, *Una política*, 409-514; also his brief address and triumphal reception in Barcelona, September 26, 1932, *En el poder y en la oposición* (Madrid, 1934), I, 1-5. For a scholarly analysis of the statute see the French law thesis, Henri Barrail, *L'autonomie régionale en Espagne* (Lyon, 1933). An excellent short history of Catalan regionalism, placing it in the perspective of contemporary Spanish problems generally, is Anton Sieberer, *Katalonien gegen Kastilien* (Vienna, 1936), available also in a French translation as *Espagne contre Espagne* (Geneva, 1937).

The liberal newspaper *El Sol*, analyzing the composition of the Cortes of 1931, noted that among 470 deputies there were 123 lawyers, 65 professors and teachers, 41 doctors, about 60 others in business and the liberal professions, and 25 workers.⁴⁹ It is important to realize also that most of these intellectuals came from comfortable backgrounds and that class lines are much more pronounced in Spain than in the United States. Many future deputies, joyously anticipating the end of the monarchy, had in 1929 and 1930 published books on the tasks of the time in which optimism, knowledge of special areas, eagerness to serve the people, and a faint note of condescension were intermingled.⁵⁰ Much that they said later in the Cortes would have been more appropriate to the *Ateneo*, the Madrid literary society which had been the center of intellectual opposition to the regime from 1875 to 1931. They seem not to have realized that while they debated the virtues of the Weimar and the Mexican constitutions, and while they delivered impassioned and well-prepared orations on the historic role of the Spanish Church, the peasants were waiting for land.

In point of fact Spanish working people as well as the middle classes had experienced the economic and cultural renaissance of the decades since 1868. An articulate, politically conscious industrial working class had grown up in the cities, and the countryside was alive with utopian hopes. Typographers and machinists, vine growers and wheat farmers, as well as lawyers and professors, felt the influence of positivism, of socialism, of the pervading nineteenth-century notion of progress. Socialist and anarchist labor groups espoused the causes of education, humanitarian reform, public works, and social legislation.⁵¹ In the struggle to raise standards of living, to educate the masses, and to reduce military, clerical, and landowner influence in the national life, republican and working-class organizations sought many similar ends. But the leadership and program of the Republic remained entirely middle-class, and those Socialists who participated in the Azaña government were professional men and intellectuals who, despite Marxist overtones

⁴⁹ Cited in Smith, *The Day of the Liberals in Spain*, 155-56.

⁵⁰ See the series of short books published by Javier Morata during the last few years preceding 1931, with titles beginning *Al servicio de . . .*, written by leading republican and Socialist personalities such as Marcelino Domingo, Jiménez de Asúa, and Julián Besteiro. One small group in the new Cortes (among whom were José Ortega y Gasset and Gregorio Marañón) appropriated to themselves the sobriquet "Al servicio de la República."

⁵¹ Both the political and the humanitarian-cultural awakening of the working classes can be studied in Juan José Morato, *El partido socialista* (Madrid, 1931) and in Anselmo Lorenzo, *El proletariado militante* (Mexico D. F., 194[?]). The latter was the revered leader of the (nonviolent) anarchists till his death in 1914. A unique book for understanding the role of both socialism and anarchism among the rural masses is J. Díaz del Moral, *Historia de las agitaciones campesinas Andaluzas-Córdoba* (Madrid, 1929).

in their thought, were fundamentally closer to the liberal republican groups than to the Socialist workers.

The absence of enthusiastic support from the Socialist masses was all the more unfortunate because the other principal ideological and political force among the Spanish working class, the anarchists, refused from the start to cooperate with the bourgeois Republic. In Barcelona Colonel Macía, President of the new Catalan government, spent the night of April 14 trying vainly to persuade the moderate anarchist Angel Pestaña to accept a portfolio in the government; and on the same day Luis Companys, mayor of the city, averted a general strike only by declaring a national holiday.⁵² In June, at the convention of the Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores, a moderate minority hinted that the advent of a liberal republic might suggest some revision of the traditional anarchist attitude toward political action, but the majority saw no reason to anticipate anything good from the Constituent Cortes.⁵³ During the summer and fall many of the moderates were expelled. At this critical moment anarchism, in some respects a highly ethical and idealistic movement,⁵⁴ became dominated by the more fanatical and disorderly elements within it. Ever since the revolutionary strikes of 1917, and especially since the thoroughgoing repression of the anarchists by the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, the *pistoleros* had increased their relative power in the movement. The younger political leaders in 1931 (the expelled moderates were mostly of a generation that had matured before 1917) saw in the Republic an opportunity to extend revolutionary agitation, and were especially concerned to maintain their leadership of the Spanish workers in the face of the rapid growth of the Socialist unions. In both rural and industrial areas they continually fomented strikes in order to prove that they had not, like their rivals, sold out to a bourgeois government.⁵⁵

Opponents of the Azaña regime teamed with ignorant or racketeering anarchists to embarrass the government. In an impassioned defense before the Cortes of his efforts as Minister of Public Works, Prieto expounded this

⁵² See Francisco Madrid, *Ocho meses y un día en el gobierno civil de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1932), 133-35. Sr. Madrid served as private secretary to the first three civil governors of republican Barcelona.

⁵³ José Peirats, *La C. N. T. en la revolución española* (Toulouse, 1951), 37-44. This book, published by the anarchists at their exile headquarters in France, is intended as the first volume of an official history. It contains no scholarly apparatus, but does include many important documents and follows a roughly chronological sequence.

⁵⁴ See Gabriel Jackson, "The Origins of Spanish Anarchism," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, XXXVI (Sept., 1955), 135-47.

⁵⁵ Periodical literature and memoirs of the era justify the general statements concerning contradictory elements within the anarchist movement and anarchist-socialist rivalries. But no scholarly study has yet evaluated the relative strengths of anarchist and socialist groups in specific areas and for specific dates. Nor do we know the extent to which the policies of the leadership reflected the sentiments of the rank and file.

situation in detail. He described as an instance of provocation the situation at the port authority of Huelva, where officials who belonged to the most conservative organizations had placed the leading anarchists on the government payroll. Though listed as "commissaries" they did no discoverable work.⁵⁶ The worst of many rural clashes between the anarchists and the government occurred at Casas Viejas in early 1933. At this time the government had been trying for more than a year to replace the royalist Civil Guard with the republican, and more humane, Assault Guard. But in response to a declaration of *comunismo libertario* by a handful of armed peasants in a tiny Andalusian village which had been impatiently awaiting land reform, the exasperated Assault Guards executed a brutal repression in the worst tradition of the Civil Guard. During the following months of investigation and bitter discussion Azaña's majority steadily declined as liberals and Socialists of his own coalition passed to the opposition. Just as in the investigation of *responsibilidades* in 1931, the accumulated evils of Spanish political life had been heaped upon the King's head, so in the investigation following Casas Viejas, the historic violence of both the anarchists and the police was laid at the door of Azaña.⁵⁷

The sporadic military and anarchist risings against their Republic came as a bitter surprise to the Krausist and Socialist intellectuals who formed the core of the Azaña coalition. Their capacity to meet such difficulties was not increased by the absence in Spanish history of a strong republican faith. It is a striking fact that in Spain republican doctrine never truly flourished except as an angry reaction to the incompetence of monarchs—of Isabella II before 1868, of Alfonso XIII before 1931. While the great advocates of reform were closely associated with the republicans and certainly provided the inspiration for most of the legislation of the Azaña period, none of them made a dogma of republicanism. Thus when Joaquín Costa, at the height of his fame in 1901, delivered an ardent philippic demanding the political renovation of Spain, he did not analyze the successful republics or progressive constitutional monarchies of his time. Rather he invoked the *Gobierno de Cristo*, an ideal theocratic state based on his interpretation of the political ideas of Fray Luis de León, Luis Vives, and Francisco de Quevedo!⁵⁸ When one considers such men as Costa and Giner, let alone more conservative intellectuals such as Unamuno, it is clear that the one transcendent ideal that

⁵⁶ See Mori, *Crónica* . . . , X, 558–82 and passim.

⁵⁷ See Ramon J. Sender, *Viaje a la aldea del crimen* (Madrid, 1934) for an account of the events and of conditions underlying this and similar outbreaks. The course of the bitter debate in the Cortes may be followed in Mori, *Crónica* . . . , XI, 426–652, and XII, passim.

⁵⁸ Joaquín Costa, *Crisis política de España* (Madrid, 1914), 68–75. Costa, as *mantenedor* of the traditional floral games of Salamanca, delivered the original speech.

had ever bound the mass of Spaniards together despite regional and class differences was the Catholicism of the Spanish Renaissance and pre-Reform. The possibility of a republic carried no such inspirational quality as the memory of the sixteenth century, and the writings of these men are filled with nostalgia for a purified Catholicism and for exalted royal leadership.⁵⁹ Here indeed was a terrible unsolved dilemma for the children of the Krausists. They loved their country's artistic and spiritual heritage, yearned to educate the Spanish masses, and wished to bring to Spain the best fruits of European science and political liberty. But they lacked both the political experience and a vital democratic tradition on which to base action. Given the fact that they, as much as the traditionalists, often found their most inspiring ideal in the past of the Spanish Church, it is not difficult to understand that the protracted religious struggle had undermined their morale. Azaña personally had long been anticlerical, and the republican-Socialist majority supported anticlerical legislation repeatedly in the two-year period. But the dominant heritage of the deputies supporting the government was Erasmist, heterodox, Krausist rather than anti-Catholic. Giner and Azcárate had always avoided anticlericalism. Had not Joaquín Costa, most practical of the republican precursors, cried repeatedly that hydraulic works and improved fertilizers were neither clerical nor anticlerical?

Reviewing the work of two years, it may be said that whatever the failings of the Republic, few parliamentary governments have initiated so many important reforms as did the republican-Socialist coalition of 1931-1933. In finance, economics, and beneficial public works it had moved rapidly and skillfully. It began a potentially fruitful reorganization of the army. Its administration was less corrupt than that of any of its predecessors. Its idealism and good faith were manifest in its school-building program, in the pedagogic missions, in the Catalan Statute. If it was slow to produce a major land reform and if it needlessly offended Catholic opinion in its attack on the orders, the critic must recognize how complex and explosive were the problems involved. Moreover, the Agrarian Statute, the separation of Church and state, and the school-building program all initiated, however inadequately, reforms that had baffled the best-intentioned royal ministries from 1875 to 1931. At the same time it may be said that the Azaña coalition disin-

⁵⁹ See Francisco Giner, "La Iglesia Española," *Estudios filosóficos y religiosos* (Madrid, 1922), 287-327; Joaquín Costa, *Tutela de pueblos en la historia* (Madrid, 1916[?]). For a brief analysis of the underlying beliefs of more conservative men such as Unamuno and Baroja see Ramón Iglesia, "El reaccionarismo de la generación del 98," *Cuadernos Americanos*, LX (Nov.-Dec., 1951), 53-76. For the authoritarian tendencies of Costa see my article "Costa et sa 'révolution par le haut,'" *Estudios de Historia Moderna*, III, 1953, pp. 287-300.

tegrated because of its internal division over land reform, its inability to provide respected leadership for the awakened working classes, the ambiguities of its own democratic faith, and the moral attrition developing out of its war with the Church.⁶⁰ Its initial optimism about the Spanish future, its educational policies, its concern for all phases of law, and its thoroughly middle-class outlook reflected the influence of Krausism and of the *Institución Libre*. The Catalan Statute, the public works policy, the army reform, and the separation of Church and state fulfilled major historic aims of republican and reformist groups in Spain since the Revolution of 1868. Its constitutional thought reflected both historic Spanish republican aims and an eagerness to adopt the best features of other recent republican constitutions. Its fiscal policies were conservative, while its expenditures indicated a broad and consistent concern for human welfare. Its struggle with the Church released pent-up anticlerical emotions of half a century, and, in the particular conjunction of circumstances, delayed at least for many years the possibility of the democratic, reformist, laic state the Constituent Cortes had hoped to build.

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⁶⁰ For an accurate and moving portrait of the ultimate pessimism of the republicans, see Manuel Azaña, *La velada en Benicarló* (Buenos Aires, 1939). Its topical reference is primarily to the civil war, but it reflects in depth the whole spiritual struggle of the republicans.

The Pendleton Act and the Civil Service*

ARI HOOGENBOOM

"AT present there is no organization save that of corruption," complained reformers of the civil service in 1868, "no system save that of chaos; no test of integrity save that of partisanship; no test of qualification save that of intrigue." Reformers explained to their fellow citizens that "we have to deal with a wide-spread evil, which defrauds the country in the collection of taxes on a scale so gigantic that the commissioners of revenue, collectors, assessors, and Treasury officers—at least those of them who are honest—bow their heads in shame and despair. We have to deal with an evil that is manifest here and there and everywhere."¹ The Pendleton bill, passed in 1883, was an attempt to cure this "evil."

The application of a remedy arouses interest in its success. What effect did the Pendleton Act have on the civil service? Did it alter the class origins and status of civil servants? How did it affect American politics? Did it stimulate national feeling? Who benefited from the public service under the Pendleton Act? A study of the American civil service from 1883 to 1900 coupled with a glance at conditions before the Pendleton Act should help answer these questions.

Before 1883 the spoils system largely prevailed, with politicians dictating appointments. Consequently, civil servants had varied and irrelevant backgrounds. In 1867 employees of the Treasurer's Office numbered in previous occupations "7 accountants, 13 bankers, 18 bookkeepers, 27 clerks, 1 detective, 2 druggists, 1 editor, 5 farmers, 1 hackdriver, 1 housekeeper, 1 hotel steward, 16 laborers, 1 lawyer, 1 machinist, 1 manufacturer, 8 mechanics, 14 merchants, 2 messengers, 1 minister, 1 page, 1 porter, 1 postman, 2 salesman, 1 sculptor, 12 students, 1 surveyor, 24 teachers, 2 telegraphists, 1 county treasurer, 1 waiter, 1 washerwoman, 1 watchman, and of no particular occupation, 112."² This motley group of individuals could anticipate early dismissal from office, for tenure was extremely insecure. A civil servant would almost

* This essay is a revised version of a paper presented at the American Historical Association meeting in New York, on December 28, 1957. Although Leonard D. White's conclusions in *The Republican Era: 1869-1901* (New York, 1958), parallel to some extent certain conclusions in this article, it was written and accepted for publication several months before his book appeared. The author is especially indebted to David Donald and to Paul P. Van Riper for criticism.

¹ Julius Bing, "Our Civil Service," *Putnam's Magazine* (New York), New Series, II, No. 8 (Aug., 1868), 233, 236.

² Joint Select Committee on Retrenchment, *Civil Service of the United States* (House Report, 40 Cong., 2 sess., II, No. 47), 40 (May 25, 1868).

certainly be removed if he ceased his political activities or if his patron lost his influence. Even if his party remained in power, a civil servant was not secure in his position. In the New York Customhouse more than one removal a day was made during a five-year period of Republican control. These removals were caused by factional struggles within the New York Republican party, and, when totaled, equaled twice the entire Customhouse force.³

Morale was low in a civil service largely composed of misfits employed on a temporary basis. Contemporaries noted the cloud of fear that hovered over government workers, especially after a change of administration.⁴ It was impossible for an *esprit de corps* or for loyalty to office or agency to develop in an atmosphere of nervous tension. The *Nation* suggested that sudden removals were made to keep the remaining office holders "in a state of healthy apprehension and uneasiness, which makes them frisky, active, and wide-awake, like the application of pepper or turpentine which dealers make to tender parts of their horses before showing their paces."⁵ There was little professionalization in the civil service before 1883.

Strong national feeling did not permeate the American civil service prior to 1883. A civil servant was loyal primarily to his patron—the local politician who procured him his job. With astounding frequency administrators granted Washington civil servants paid leaves of absence to campaign in their home districts. If a civil servant came from a state where local and federal elections were held on different dates, he was often granted two paid leaves. When Jacob Dolson Cox, Grant's reforming Secretary of the Interior, forbade second paid leaves in his department, Grant, pressed by spoils politicians, forced Cox to revoke the order.⁶ Local politics vitally concerned the civil servant. His job depended upon this.

Politicians, not businessmen, dominated the civil service before the Pendleton Act, and the civil service gave the politician his strength. Not only did it provide a payroll for his staff of hacks and ward heelers; it was also a primary source of that important commodity with which elections are won—money. Local, state, and federal politicians might assess a civil servant yearly from 2 to 7 per cent of his annual salary.⁷ Politicians considered assessment

³ *Congressional Record*, 47 Cong., 1 sess., 80 (Dec. 13, 1881).

⁴ "Civil Service Hearings before the Congressional Committee," *The Civil Service Record* (Boston), X, No. 3 (Sept., 1890), 23.

⁵ *Nation* (New York), XII, No. 301 (Apr. 6, 1871), 229.

⁶ "Things Plain to Be Seen," *ibid.*, XI, No. 276 (Oct. 13, 1870), 232.

⁷ In 1882, for example, federal officeholders from Virginia were assessed 5 per cent by local politicians in addition to their regular 2 per cent assessment by the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee. *Ibid.*, XXXV, No. 896 (Aug. 31, 1882), 165.

money an indispensable means of financing campaign projects. "Please tell me how the Depts. generally are doing," wrote an anxious presidential candidate to a henchman in 1880, as the campaign grew warmer and more assessment money seemed necessary.⁸ Theoretically, a civil servant voluntarily contributed his portion to the campaign chest, but, actually, he was coerced. If he did not respond to a letter stating the exact sum due, he frequently received a second and even a third threatening letter. Not only were lists of noncontributing government workers circulated among department heads, but politicians frequently entered Washington departments to extract from reluctant civil servants "cash on the barrel" or the promise of it on the next payday.⁹ Civil servants lost their positions for failing to contribute. A Virginia postmaster, who paid his assessment with a twenty-dollar Confederate note, was not saved by his sense of humor. When his neighbors sympathized with him, the post office was discontinued.¹⁰

The government service was spoils-ridden, but reform had been attempted with some success in the 1870's. Although the reformation proved short-lived, it left a pattern for future attempts.¹¹ The Pendleton Act was based upon this pattern, and, like it, borrowed heavily from British experience. After President Garfield was assassinated by an insane office-seeker, a handful of influential reformers channeled public opinion to support their measure—the Pendleton Act. This act required that a limited portion of the civil service, referred to as the classified service, be selected by competitive examination. The new system was called the merit system.

The number of government workers affected by the Pendleton Act grew rapidly. In 1883 only 11 per cent of the civil service was classified; by 1900, 46 per cent was under the merit system.¹² A prime reason for this rapid growth

⁸ James A. Garfield to Jay Hubbell, Aug. 22, 1880, Garfield Papers, Library of Congress.

⁹ For evidence of these practices, see *Congressional Records*, 47 Cong., 1 sess., 4855 (June 13, 1882). E. M. Johnson to S. B. Curtis, Oct. 23, 1880, George William Curtis Collection, Rutherford B. Hayes Library, Fremont, Ohio. Johnson was secretary of the New York State Republican Committee, and S. B. Curtis was a Customhouse employee. John Cessna to [officeholder], Oct. 25, 1880, *ibid.* Cessna was chairman of the Pennsylvania State Republican Committee. *Nation*, XXXV, No. 896 (Aug. 31, 1882), 168.

¹⁰ *Nation*, XXXV, No. 904 (Oct. 26, 1882), 346.

¹¹ For information on President Grant's abortive attempt at reform, see Lionel V. Murphy, "The First Federal Civil Service Commission: 1871-75 . . .," *Public Personnel Review*, III, Nos. 1, 3, 4 (Jan., July, Oct., 1942), 29-39, 218-31, 299-323.

¹² Roughly fourteen thousand of the 131,000 government employees were classified in 1883. By 1894 one-quarter of the entire civil service was classified, and two years later sweeping extensions by President Cleveland brought the total of classified offices to one-half. McKinley reversed the trend slightly by withdrawing some ten thousand offices from the classified system. Despite this reversal, in 1900 there were 95,000 classified civil servants out of a total of 208,000. Statistics were derived from the U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945: A Supplement to the Statistical Abstracts of the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1949), 294; Darrell Hevenor Smith, *The United States Civil Service Commission: Its History, Activities and Organization*, Institute for

was the frequent change of party control. In the twelve years following 1885, parties lost the presidency to their rivals four times, and after each defeat the classified service was extended. When, for example, Cleveland was defeated in 1888, a Republican senator, swearing that Cleveland was "still the same old *trickster*," gave the following report: "He has been removing officers in the Railway Mail Service in very great numbers since the election and is continuing to remove them. After having filled the service full of incompetent partisans he then proposes to tie the hands of the incoming administration" by placing these partisans under the classified system.¹³ Invariably, presidents extended the classified service late in their administrations and frequently after rejection at the polls.¹⁴

The classified service was far more important than its numbers indicate. From its start, the new system included places close to policy-making positions, perhaps even encroached upon them, and subsequently moved downward to include progressively minor positions.¹⁵ The compensation of classified officers indicates their importance. Even as early as 1889, the combined salaries of classified officers equaled those of unclassified civil servants, although only one quarter of the service was under the merit system.¹⁶

In the unclassified service, spoils methods continued to prevail; political orthodoxy was required, political activity was expected, tenure was insecure, and the civil servant's loyalty was to a party chieftain rather than to the commonweal. The number of unclassified federal employees fluctuated from 1883 to 1900, but usually remained in the neighborhood of 100,000.¹⁷ Fourth-class postmasters—all of whom earned less than \$1,000 annually and the vast

Government Research, Service Monographs of the United States Government, No. 49 (Baltimore, Md., 1928), 37; United States Civil Service Commission, *Annual Reports*, I-XVII (July 16, 1883–June 30, 1900). Hereafter cited as *Annual Report*. U. S. Civil Service Commission, *The Classified Executive Civil Service of the United States Government: Authority for and Development of the Classified Service, Numerical Growth* (Form 2909, Washington, D. C., Mar., 1933), 11–29. Hereafter cited as *Classified Executive Civil Service*. Civil service statistics, especially in reference to the unclassified service, are frequently contradictory and must be used with caution. Since laborers, temporary employees, secret service agents, and others who were paid out of "lump" appropriations are not included in the above statistics, these figures are low. See Paul P. Van Riper, *History of the United States Civil Service* (Evanston, Ill., 1958), 56–59.

¹³ Jonathan Chace to Henry C. Lea, Dec. 12, 1888, Lea Papers, University of Pennsylvania.

¹⁴ Ari Hoogenboom, "Outlawing the Spoils: A History of the Civil Service Reform Movement, 1865–1883" (doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1957), 410–16. For information on when and how many civil servants were classified, see *Classified Executive Civil Service*, 11–29.

¹⁵ *Classified Executive Civil Service*, 11–14.

¹⁶ *Annual Report*, VI (July 1, 1888–June 30, 1889), 1. In 1896 seven-tenths of the federal payroll went to classified employees, who composed half of the service. *Ibid.*, XIII (July 1, 1895–June 30, 1896), 16, 100.

¹⁷ There were 117,000 of these officers in 1884; 130,000 in 1889; 92,000 in 1896; and 114,000 in 1900. Smith, *United States Civil Service Commission*, 37; *Annual Report*, XIII (July 1, 1895–June 30, 1896), 100.

majority of whom earned less than \$100 annually¹⁸—composed approximately 70 per cent of the unclassified service.¹⁹ Despite the poor compensation, officeholders used these positions to pay political debts. Under Hayes, 68 per cent of the fourth-class postmasterships changed hands; under Garfield and Arthur, 72 per cent; and during Cleveland's first administration, 76 per cent. Under Harrison, 87 per cent of fourth-class postmasterships were vacated. The adverse publicity these frequent changes received under Harrison reversed the trend. The turnover of fourth-class postmasters during Cleveland's second administration was 75 per cent, while in five years under McKinley 72 per cent were replaced.²⁰ Although Theodore Roosevelt classified 15,000 fourth-class postmasters in 1908, and William Howard Taft added 36,000 more in 1912, Wilson suspended Taft's order and turned many of those offices back to the spoils system. The Ramspeck Act, passed in 1940, was the first genuine protection for fourth-class postmasters.²¹

Presiding over the classified system was the Civil Service Commission. From 1883 to 1900, the Commission went through four phases of administrative vigor. Until 1886, under the leadership of Dorman B. Eaton, it was cautious and conciliatory but firm. During most of Cleveland's first administration it was weak; Alfred P. Edgerton, its president, actually appeared hostile to reform.²² The Commission was revitalized in 1889 when Harrison appointed Theodore Roosevelt to it. Roosevelt did more than just popularize the merit system; his boundless energy gave the Commission new power.²³

After Roosevelt left in 1895, the Commission again declined. Although Commissioner John R. Procter vigorously championed the merit system, his colleagues frequently opposed it. They even approved of McKinley's action

¹⁸ A cursory check in the *Official Register of the United States . . . July 1, 1901* (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1901), II, 15-421, reveals the niggardly wages paid fourth-class postmasters.

¹⁹ *Annual Report*, XIII (July 1, 1895-June 30, 1896), 16; XVI (July 1, 1898-June 30, 1899), 9.

²⁰ The percentages were derived from figures in Dorothy Ganfield Fowler, *The Cabinet Politician: The Postmasters General, 1829-1909* (New York, 1943), 306-307.

²¹ Van Riper, *History*, 344-45. Statistics were taken from *Classified Executive Civil Service*, 16, 18.

²² For Edgerton's hostility, see "The Chicago Reports," *Civil Service Record*, VII, No. 4 (Oct., 1887), 27-28. Commissioner George D. Johnston was even more hostile than Edgerton, but he served later and was overshadowed by Theodore Roosevelt. On Johnston, see Roosevelt to Lucius Burrie Swift, May 16, 1893, in *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, eds. Elting E. Morison, John M. Blum, and John J. Buckley (8 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1951-54), I, 317.

²³ Roosevelt's contribution to the Civil Service Commission has been debated. Some feel that his noisemaking obscured the lack of real accomplishment, but contemporaries felt that he made a genuine contribution. *Letters*, ed. Morison, *et al.*, I, 444, n. 1; Edward Cary, "The Civil Service Commission," *New York Times*, July 14, 1895, "Scrapbook of Newspaper Clippings on Civil Service Reform," Library of the United States Civil Service Commission. Hereafter cited as "Scrapbook." The reading of Roosevelt's letters also offers convincing proof of his real contribution. This contribution is belittled by A. Bower Sageser, *The First Two Decades of the Pendleton Act: A Study of Civil Service Reform*, University Studies of the University of Nebraska, XXXIV-XXXV (Lincoln, 1935), 141-42.

when he reclaimed several thousand offices for the spoils system.²⁴ According to Procter, former Commissioner Charles Lyman, a partisan more of Republicanism than of reform, advised McKinley on these changes.²⁵ Republicans excused McKinley on grounds that Cleveland's recent extensions were too hasty, but reformers and Democratic Commissioner Procter were irate. Procter indignantly complained to his friend Theodore Roosevelt, then governor of New York. "Now old man," Roosevelt replied, "do not criticize the order in any way where your criticisms can get back to the President, or can get into the newspapers. Like the Cabman in Punch, 'keep up a Devil of a thinking,' but remember that even the venerable individual who is now writing you, learned the advisability of a mild amount of caution!"²⁶

During these early years, the Civil Service Commission bore little resemblance to the omnipotent and omnipresent Commission of today. Many functions performed by the Civil Service Commission in the 1950's²⁷ were not even contemplated between 1883 and 1900. For example, the Commission actually opposed pensions for superannuated government employees.²⁸ Screening applicants for appointments was its chief function. Initially, it had little or no control over promotions, demotions, and removals, and administrators frequently bypassed, ignored, and flouted its wishes. Yet the power of the Commission gradually increased as shortcomings in the merit system were eliminated. Spoilsmen vigorously fought these changes and frequently forced the Commission to take two steps backward for three steps gained. This tug of war can be traced in regulations dealing with promotions, removals, and appointments.

Although the Commission was given authority over promotions, it did not exercise that power. In 1891 President Harrison directed departments to base promotions on efficiency records. Each department complied in its own fashion. Some departments even administered examinations for promotion, but the various systems which resulted were found inadequate and were quickly abandoned.²⁹ After 1896 the Commission formulated uniform regulations for promotions, and required department heads to promulgate them.

²⁴ Sageser, *The First Two Decades of the Pendleton Act*, 211.

²⁵ John R. Procter to Theodore Roosevelt, June 30, 1899, Procter Papers, Library of Congress. Lyman was appointment clerk in the Treasury Department at this time.

²⁶ Roosevelt to Procter, June 17, 1899, *ibid.* Procter replied in a similar vein, "I appreciate the advice to be cautious, coming as it does from a man so celebrated for caution as you are. . . ." Procter to Roosevelt, June 30, 1899, *ibid.*

²⁷ Herbert Kaufman, "The Growth of the Federal Personnel System," in Wallace S. Sayre, ed., *The Federal Government Service: Its Character, Prestige, and Problems* (New York, 1954), 42, describes the multiple functions of today's Commission.

²⁸ "Civil Service Hearings before the Congressional Committee," 26-27.

²⁹ *Annual Report*, X (July 1, 1892-June 30, 1893), 12.

Three years later, however, it complained that some of the departments had not complied.³⁰

The Pendleton Act forbade removals on political or religious grounds. Roosevelt claimed that this regulation practically ended political removals in the departmental service at Washington,³¹ but administrators sometimes hampered the Commission's powers of investigation by refusing to divulge information. Secretary of the Treasury John G. Carlisle, for instance, "flatly refused" the Commission's request for information.³² Carlisle also insisted that any correspondence between his department and the Commission be cleared through his office.³³ Removals were made for reasons other than politics or religion. Roosevelt noted that when officials of Cleveland's second administration discriminated against Negroes by removing them from the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the Commission could do nothing except publicize "the facts."³⁴ Fewer arbitrary changes were made after July, 1897, when McKinley required written reasons for removals in the competitive classified service and permitted a removed person to defend himself. The charges and answers, however, were filed in the department where the removal occurred; the Commission did not receive a copy.³⁵

Administrators frequently avoided the Commission when making appointments, but "backdoors" into the classified service were gradually eliminated. Among these "backdoors" were exceptions, transfers, and temporary appointments. Under the rules, numerous classified positions, usually those of a confidential nature or those involving the handling of money, were exempt from competitive examinations. The Commission protested that these posts were filled on political grounds with people inferior to those secured by competition. After a year's service many of these individuals transferred to nonexempt positions, which normally would have been filled competitively. In the closing days of Harrison's administration, the Commission vigorously protested that nearly all new appointees came from

³⁰ *Ibid.*, XVI (July 1, 1898–June 30, 1899), 14.

³¹ Roosevelt to L. S. Mole, Nov. 21, 1893, Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress. This citation and all succeeding citations of the Roosevelt Papers were taken from copies of Roosevelt's letters as Civil Service Commissioner located in the Roosevelt Collection, Harvard College Library. See also Roosevelt to Hugh McKittrick, Feb. 21, 1895, in *Letters*, ed. Morison, *et al.*, I, 428.

³² Roosevelt to Herbert Welsh, Nov. 20, 1893, Roosevelt Papers. In 1900, the Commission meekly declared that reviewing removals "would neither be authorized nor advisable." *Annual Report*, XVII (July 1, 1899–June 30, 1900), 13.

³³ Carlisle to Collectors of Customs and all other officers of the Treasury Department, June 25, 1896, in "Department Circulars, 1882–1902," Library of the United States Civil Service Commission. A good example of the Commission's weakness can be found in Roosevelt to the Civil Service Commission, Jan. 24, 1894, in *Letters*, ed. Morison, *et al.*, I, 352–57.

³⁴ Roosevelt to Hugh McKittrick, Feb. 21, 1895, in *Letters*, ed. Morison, *et al.*, I, 427–28.

³⁵ *Annual Report*, XVII (July 1, 1899–June 30, 1900), 60–61, 13.

exempt offices. It claimed that the administration's object was to blanket these workers under the classified system.³⁶ Cleveland closed this door. In November, 1894, he forbade such transfers in the future and drastically reduced the number of exempt positions. Harrison closed another "backdoor" in 1891, when he prevented unclassified laborers of two years' service from stepping over into classified ranks after passing a noncompetitive examination.³⁷

Congress opened a "backdoor" into the classified service during the Spanish-American War. Under the guise of an emergency, it provided for temporary appointments without examination, even though the Commission had long eligible lists and easily could have handled emergency demands.³⁸ As it turned out, this emergency personnel policy caused part of the disgraceful chaos in the War Department. According to the secretary of the Commission, political favorites who became war emergency clerks were "mostly illiterate and incompetent, and . . . made very serious errors."³⁹ Unfortunately, many of these temporary appointments were made permanent after the war.⁴⁰

Despite occasional setbacks, the Commission grew in power and authority between 1883 and 1900. The extension of the classified system was a major element in the Commission's growing strength, but minor administrative changes also increased its authority. These changes resulted chiefly from recognition and correction of shortcomings in the merit system. Fraud in correcting papers and the possible juggling of the eligible list were eliminated when a central board of examiners began marking papers in Washington under the Commission's supervision.⁴¹ As a "first step toward a classification based upon duties, with like pay for like work," the Commission began in 1896 a detailed card index of all civil servants. This index provided a convenient record from which the extent, cost, and general condition of the service could be computed.⁴² Although government employees in Washington had been divided into classes as early as 1853, and this classification had been revised by Cleveland in 1888, titles and compensation were "indefinitely varied" with no uniformity among departments or offices. It

³⁶ Roosevelt and Charles Lyman to Harrison, Feb. 14, 1893, Roosevelt Papers.

³⁷ *Annual Report*, XII (July 1, 1894-June 30, 1895), 9-11; VIII (July 1, 1890-June 30, 1891), 3-4.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, XV (July 1, 1897-June 30, 1898), 275-87.

³⁹ John T. Doyle to George McAneny, Nov. 25, 1898, National Civil Service Reform League Papers, Collection of Regional History, Cornell University.

⁴⁰ From May 29, 1899, to January 24, 1901, a total of 926 temporary employees were given permanent appointments. *Annual Report*, XVII (July 1, 1899-June 30, 1900), 609.

⁴¹ Roosevelt to C. W. Watson, Feb. 25, 1895, Roosevelt Papers.

⁴² *Annual Report*, XIII (July 1, 1895-June 30, 1896), 16.

was not until 1899 that the entire classified service was subdivided into uniform grades,⁴³ but even this rule merely shuffled titles. The problem of uniformity in the service was not really met until the Classification Act of 1923.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the rule promulgated in 1899 represented a trend toward uniformity.

The Commission further demonstrated its growing power by conducting a number of successful investigations. Yet many obstacles hindered this development. The departments at Washington and the Railway Mail Service usually observed the Pendleton Act with care, but some local offices violated it.⁴⁵ The smaller the office and the more remote it was from Washington, the greater were the chances for evasion of the rules. The reasons for specific violations varied, but politics frequently motivated them. Investigations were limited to political removals, assessments, and activities; and frauds such as re-marking papers to secure the appointment of fellow partisans. The inability to summon witnesses and to administer oaths hampered the Commission. Information received was purely voluntary or given upon presidential order until December, 1901, when civil servants were required to testify under oath at the Commission's request.⁴⁶ During the ten years following 1883, few violators of the Pendleton Act were convicted, and department heads frequently ignored the Commission's recommendations for removals.⁴⁷ Although Roosevelt never recommended an indictment unless he thought adequate proof existed to convict the culprit, he complained that only one out of three was indicted and that none was convicted.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, investigations tended to stop abuses by calling attention to them, and by the 1890's a number of violators were convicted.⁴⁹ Violations, however, were decreasing; the Pendleton Act by this time was usually well observed. "There have been haltings and shortcomings, here and there," Roosevelt commented when he resigned from the Commission in 1895, "but as a whole the improvement in the administration of the law has kept pace steadily with the growth of the classified service. Year by year

⁴³ *Ibid.*, X (July 1, 1892-June 30, 1893), 86-88; XIII (July 1, 1895-June 30, 1896), 16; XVII (July 1, 1899-June 30, 1900), 78-79.

⁴⁴ Van Riper, *History*, 296-304.

⁴⁵ *Annual Report*, X (July 1, 1892-June 30, 1893), 3; Roosevelt to Frank E. Smith, president, and John F. Victory, secretary, National Association of Letter Carriers, Aug. 25, 1893, Roosevelt Papers.

⁴⁶ *Annual Report*, XVII (July 1, 1899-June 30, 1900), 61.

⁴⁷ On executive coolness to the Commission's recommendations, see *Letters*, ed. Morison, *et al.*, I, 281, n. 2.

⁴⁸ Roosevelt to Lucius Burrie Swift, May 7, 1892, *ibid.*, I, 280.

⁴⁹ *Annual Report*, XI (July 1, 1893-June 30, 1894), 21-25; Roosevelt to James T. Young, June 25, 1894, in *Letters*, ed. Morison, *et al.*, I, 387.

the law has been better executed, taking the service as a whole, and in spite of occasional exceptions in certain offices and bureaus."⁵⁰

An expanding merit system and a Commission growing in power and authority had a profound effect upon the government service. The civil service was changing. It was becoming a career service—a profession. Professionalization was severely restricted before 1883, since government jobs were of short duration and held little hope for advancement. The Pendleton Act, however, increased job security by regulating appointments and curtailing political removals. Comparison of tenure in the State Department, the Patent Office, and the Second Auditor's Office under the spoils system with tenure in the same offices from 1883 to 1901 reveals a sharp increase after 1883 in the number of individuals who made government service a career.⁵¹

Contemporaries noted the effect of security on morale. Secretary of the Treasury William Windom, who served under both the spoils and merit systems, contrasted the demoralization in his department when the Republican party succeeded itself in 1881 with the calm that prevailed in 1889 after a change of parties. The difference, of course, was the Pendleton Act.⁵² Postmaster General John Wanamaker, who was hostile to the merit system, singled out the Railway Mail Service—a classified service—for its high morale.⁵³ And Naval Officer Silas W. Burt of the New York Customhouse

⁵⁰ Roosevelt to Grover Cleveland, Apr. 25, 1895, in *Letters*, ed. Morison, *et al.*, I, 444.

⁵¹ In the State Department only 11 per cent (three) of the twenty-seven employees of 1865 were still employed in 1883. These three averaged \$700 in raises. In 1901, 34 per cent of the sixty-one employees in 1883 remained. Of the twenty-one who remained, fifteen received raises averaging \$640. Four, however, had not advanced in eighteen years, and two had been demoted.

In the Second Auditor's Office in the Treasury Department, only 15 per cent (fifty) of the 324 employees in 1865 remained in 1883. Of the fifty retained, thirty-three received raises averaging \$329, fourteen did not advance, and three were demoted. Of 167 employees in 1883, 25 per cent (forty-two) remained eighteen years later. Of these, twenty-two received raises averaging \$245, but ten remained constant, and ten others were demoted. Fourteen who were in office in 1865 were still in office in 1901. Tenure was more secure under the merit system, but the promotion policy for those who remained was not so generous as under the spoils system. The average raise for all who remained, including those who received no advance and those who were demoted, was \$62.

The development of a career service is best illustrated by the highly skilled examiners in the Patent Office. Of thirty-six examiners employed in 1865, only 8 per cent (three) remained in 1883. Of these three, one received a \$400 increase while the other two salaries were decreased \$100. Of 135 employed in 1883, 37 per cent (fifty) were still employed in 1901. Of these, thirty-seven received raises averaging \$473, nine remained constant, and four were demoted. One man employed in 1865 was still in office thirty-six years later. *Register of Officers and Agents, Civil, Military, and Naval, in the Service of the United States, on the Thirtieth September, 1865* . . . (Washington, D. C., 1866), 1-2, 25-29, 129-30; *Official Register of the United States* . . . July, 1883 . . . (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1883), I, 20-21, 71-73, 524-26; *Official Register of the United States* . . . July 1, 1901, I, 36-37, 71-73, 1021-23.

⁵² "Civil Service Hearings before the Congressional Committee," 23. Windom made these remarks to Roosevelt, who repeated them.

⁵³ *Civil Service Record*, X, No. 7 (Jan., 1891), 68.

noted the increased self-respect among individual employees as well as the "greater *esprit de corps* of the aggregate force."⁵⁴

The merit system, however, did not create a high spirited career service overnight. Lack of advancement modified the trend toward a career service as did the possibility of removal and demotion. Compared with Great Britain, the United States had no career service. Civil Service Commissioner Roosevelt remarked that "the civil service is not looked to as a career by anyone. Very few young men come into the service at Washington with any idea of remaining more than a few years; often merely long enough to support them through a course at a professional evening school. This feeling will continue until promotions . . . are based upon merit, and a check put upon unjust removals."⁵⁵ For practical purposes, the Commission concerned itself only with appointments. It did not interfere with administrators. The civil servant was not completely secure nor was his proficiency always rewarded. In 1893, for example, Secretary of the Treasury John G. Carlisle vigorously shook up the classified service in his department. He promoted and demoted clerks not on the basis of ability but to even up promotions between the parties. The effect was extremely "demoralizing."⁵⁶ Those in government service and even those concerned with building up a career service—such as Commissioner Roosevelt—encouraged young men to go into private business, where chances of advancement were much better.⁵⁷ Professionalism was growing, but it was a slow growth.

The Pendleton Act affected both the social origins and the social position of civil servants. The spoils system had brought the civil service into disrepute, especially in the eyes of "polite society." The Joint Select Committee on Retrenchment emphasized this fact in 1868 by quoting James Parton, the biographer:

The Government, formerly served by the *élite* of the nation, is now served to a very considerable extent by its refuse. . . . [M]en of intelligence, ability, and virtue universally desire to fix their affairs on a basis of permanence. . . . It is their nature to abhor the arts by which office is now obtained and retained. In the year of our Lord 1859, the fact of a man's holding office under the government

⁵⁴ *Annual Report*, IV (Jan. 16, 1886–June 30, 1887), 513. The merit system also built up the *esprit de corps* of municipal employees. "Civil Service Tests," *New York Evening Post*, Nov. 26, 1898, "Scrapbook."

⁵⁵ Roosevelt to Edward Porritt, Jan. 26, 1895, in *Letters*, ed. Morison, *et al.*, I, 423. The civil service today still has many transient employees. Kaufman, "The Growth of the Federal Personnel System," 19.

⁵⁶ *Good Government* (Washington, D. C.), XIII, No. 2 (Aug. 15, 1893), 15.

⁵⁷ "Views from the Inside," *ibid.*, XII, No. 7 (Jan. 15, 1893), 85; Roosevelt to W. C. Kenyon, June 29, 1892, in *Letters*, ed. Morison, *et al.*, I, 288–89; Roosevelt to Henry Cabot Lodge, Dec. 13, 1893, Roosevelt Papers.

is presumptive evidence that he is one of three characters, namely, an adventurer, an incompetent person, or a scoundrel.⁵⁸

Civil service reformers had hoped for a return to the aristocratic government service of the Federalists and Jeffersonians.⁵⁹ The reformers, many of whom were descendants of the old aristocracy, were disappointed in their expectations during the post-Civil War years. Even though they achieved some prominence, they were largely overshadowed by the powerful industrialist on one hand and by the spoils politician on the other. In their frustration, reformers attacked the politician's conspicuous source of power—the spoils system.⁶⁰

As reformers had hoped, the merit system recruited persons of a higher social status than the spoils system had attracted, and after 1883 classified civil servants occupied a more esteemed position in society. Dorman B. Eaton, the chief of the first Civil Service Commission, claimed that ninety-nine out of a hundred political hacks who applied for examination were eliminated when asked their occupations during the preceding five years.⁶¹ The director of the Mint believed “every head of a bureau” would join him “in saying that the class of appointments in our Department through the Civil Service examinations is very far superior to that under the old system,”⁶² and a Buffalo postmaster testified that his appointees under the merit system were of “good standing in the community.”⁶³ The astonishingly high educational background of civil servants offers a clue to their class origins. From 1885 to 1896, roughly one-quarter of those who passed clerk and copyist examinations for appointment at Washington had some college training.⁶⁴ A smaller percentage of college people took examinations for jobs outside of Washington, but nevertheless 12 per cent of all who passed any examination between 1885 and 1896 had been to college. This figure is sizable, for it included letter carriers and Railway Mail clerks as well as highly skilled Washington officials. It is especially impressive when

⁵⁸ Joint Select Committee on Retrenchment, *Civil Service of the United States*, 13. The statement originally appeared in Parton's *Life of Andrew Jackson*.

⁵⁹ Henry Brooks Adams, “Civil-Service Reform,” *The North American Review* (Boston), CIX, No. 225 (Oct., 1869), 456. The Federalists and Jeffersonians appointed to office the so-called better people (Leonard D. White, *The Jeffersonians: A Study in Administrative History, 1801-1829* [New York, 1951], 368), but under Jacksonians, and later Republicans, appointments of the “better people” declined.

⁶⁰ Hoogenboom, “Outlawing the Spoils,” 303-12.

⁶¹ *Civil Service Record*, IV, No. 2 (July, 1884), 15.

⁶² “A View from the Inside,” *Good Government*, XII, No. 3 (Sept. 15, 1892), 33-34.

⁶³ *Annual Report*, IV (Jan. 16, 1886-June 30, 1887), 523.

⁶⁴ The percentage of college-trained successful examinees was derived from tables appearing *ibid.*, III-XIII (Jan. 16, 1885-June 30, 1896). During the fiscal year 1896 to 1897, 24 per cent of the appointees to Washington departments had college backgrounds. *Ibid.*, XIV (July 1, 1896-June 30, 1897), 501.

one considers that as recently as 1952 only 15 per cent of the United States population over eighteen had attended college.⁶⁵

Despite the large percentage of successful college applicants, no attempt was made to follow the British pattern of tying civil service to universities. In fact, the Commission maintained that a common school education was sufficient to pass examinations.⁶⁶ According to Commissioner Roosevelt, 70 per cent of all who passed were educated in common schools only, and a college man's chances of passing were only 5 per cent greater.⁶⁷ A high percentage of college people passed examinations simply because a great number of them took examinations, not because tests were geared to their background. Examinations were practical, not theoretical, and were designed to test aptitude for a specific job rather than general knowledge. The Commission examined clerks in penmanship, composition, grammar, arithmetic, and American history and geography. It also gave highly technical examinations for specialized positions and administered simple tests for letter carriers and clerks in the Railway Mail Service. Roosevelt strongly favored practical examinations. To select mounted inspectors for the customs service on the Mexican border, he suggested testing horsemanship, roping, brand reading, and marksmanship.⁶⁸ A candidate was not expected to possess technical training above that demanded by the position he desired.⁶⁹

The Pendleton Act required that appointments to government jobs in Washington be apportioned among the states and territories according to population.⁷⁰ Remote sections of the Union received more offices after 1883

⁶⁵ The figures are based on tables *ibid.*, III-XIII (Jan. 16, 1885-June 30, 1896); U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1956 (77th ed., Washington, D. C., 1956), 111. Reformers and the Commission, however, claimed that no class dominated the civil service. Repeated attacks on the merit system as an aristocratic scheme had forced reformers to shift ground, advocate practical tests, and stress the democracy of competition. The Civil Service Commission boasted that the merit system destroyed the class monopoly of patronage that politicians had enjoyed and that under the Pendleton Act social standing, occupations, and political opinions of appointees were as varied as among the population at large. *Annual Report*, III (Jan. 16, 1885-Jan. 16, 1886), 63.

⁶⁶ *Annual Report*, VI (July 1, 1888-June 30, 1889), 5-6. The *Record* admitted that appointees under the rules were scholarly but insisted that the public grammar school supplied enough instruction for examinations. *Civil Service Record*, X, No. 3 (Sept., 1890), 18.

⁶⁷ Roosevelt to Edward Porritt, Jan. 26, 1895, in *Letters*, ed. Morison, *et al.*, I, 422.

⁶⁸ Roosevelt to William A. Fitch [Collector of Customs at Eagle Pass, Texas], Feb. 6, 1895, *ibid.*, I, 424-25.

⁶⁹ Samples of examinations can be found in the appendixes to the *Annual Reports* of the Civil Service Commission.

⁷⁰ The Commission enforced apportionment but occasionally lacked funds for examinations in remote places or could not find qualified applicants from underrepresented areas. Roosevelt to R. H. Piatt, Oct. 10, 1894, and Roosevelt to Joseph D. Sayers, Jan. 8, 1894, Roosevelt Papers. Sayers was chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations. *Annual Report*, V (July 1, 1887-June 30, 1888), 37. Apportionment was disregarded, for example, in December, 1886, when the Secretary of the Treasury needed women skilled at counting money. "Minutes of the Civil Service Commission," Dec. 22, 1886, National Archives. Hereafter cited as "Minutes."

than they had in the past. Apportionment long had been established in theory, but under the spoils system those areas close to Washington and the industrial and commercial Northeast virtually monopolized appointments. The merit system still favored these sections, but under it no state received less than 72 per cent of its quota of appointments, and most states received within 10 per cent of their quotas.⁷¹

Although Theodore Roosevelt noted that every state and territory, including the District of Columbia, felt cheated,⁷² apportionment made friends for the merit system.⁷³ Roosevelt, in fact, kept the usually hostile southern and western congressmen posted on the larger share of appointments their states received under the merit system than under the spoils system;⁷⁴ and President Cleveland noted that apportionment made reform popular.⁷⁵ Furthermore, Roosevelt reflected that apportionment "promoted local interest in the federal administration in sections which formerly did not get many appointments."⁷⁶

Apportionment, however, was never fully achieved. As late as 1900, less than one-quarter of Washington civil servants had been appointed under the Pendleton Act.⁷⁷ The area immediately surrounding Washington still had more than its share of offices, while many southern and western states were poorly represented. Nevertheless, appointments under the merit system were more equally distributed than they had been in the past. Washington departments were more like melting pots for American regions under the Pendleton Act than before, and, in a small way, apportionment may be said to have promoted national feeling.

⁷¹ For an excellent table comparing the apportionment of appointments under the merit and spoils systems, see *Annual Report*, X (July 1, 1892–June 30, 1893), 217. See also the table in Hoogenboom, "Outlawing the Spoils," 457, comparing the regional origins of Washington civil servants in 1901 with the regional origins of Washington civil servants appointed under the merit system from 1883 to 1900. The considerable difference in percentages demonstrates that the spoils system tended to ignore the South and the West.

⁷² Roosevelt to Jacob H. Gallinger, Jan. 10, 1894, Roosevelt Papers. Gallinger was a senator from New Hampshire.

⁷³ Reformers, however, disliked apportionment, for it multiplied expenses by necessitating a register for each state and territory and caused inferior candidates from remote states to be appointed before superior candidates from states near Washington with full registers. "The Civil Service Reform Act," *Civil Service Record*, II, No. 8 (Jan., 1883), 57; *ibid.*, X, No. 3 (Sept., 1890), 20.

⁷⁴ Roosevelt to Roger Q. Mills, Dec. 10, 1890, and Roosevelt to Stephen M. White, Jan. 19, 1894, Roosevelt Papers. Mills was a representative from Texas, and White was a senator from California. When Roosevelt retired as Commissioner, the *New York Times* referred to this maneuver as a "brilliant flank movement." Edward Cary, "The Civil Service Commission," *New York Times*, July 14, 1895, "Scrapbook."

⁷⁵ Cleveland to Procter, June 5, 1895, Procter Papers.

⁷⁶ Roosevelt to James T. Young, June 25, 1894, in *Letters*, ed. Morison, *et al.*, I, 386.

⁷⁷ Hoogenboom, "Outlawing the Spoils," 457. In recent years the exemption from apportionment of veterans, of certain agencies, and in emergencies of the entire civil service has virtually nullified the scheme.

In contrast to Washington government workers, civil servants with jobs outside of Washington, whether classified or not, were appointed locally. A Paducah, Kentucky, postmaster invariably was a citizen of Paducah, Kentucky, and civil service rules required a Railway Mail clerk on a run from Albany to New York City to live in a county along the right of way.⁷⁸ Commissioner Procter protested strongly against limiting certification to cities or districts where vacancies existed. He contended that the Pendleton Act did not require this practice and that its effects were harmful. Appointments to the Indian Service excluded easterners among whom "missionary spirit" was the strongest, and, on the other hand, New York City had an unjust monopoly of appointments to its Customhouse and Post Office.⁷⁹ Procter could have added that this policy promoted regionalism rather than nationalism.

The Pendleton Act did promote national feeling effectively by curbing the power of the political boss. A civil servant's allegiance to patron and party slackened when local politicians lost most of their power over the classified service. Under the merit system, politicians who had once dictated appointments and removals could not even secure positions for relatives. When Silas P. Dutcher, New York hack politician, called an examination impractical because his kinsman had ranked low on it, his protest was treated like that of any other malcontent. He was promptly told, "Mr. Dutcher's failures were on the very portions of his examinations which had to do with his duties."⁸⁰ Civil servants, no longer obligated to a political boss and relatively secure under the merit system, devoted less time to local politics and more time to their duties than they had under the spoils system. Dwindling returns from political assessments further illustrated the waning influence of politicians on the civil service. The Pendleton Act effectively protected civil servants from these "voluntary" contributions.⁸¹ Accompanying the politician's declining influence in the classified service was the growth of morale and *esprit de corps*. The unclassified civil servant still remained loyal to the local politician who procured him his job, but classified

⁷⁸ *Annual Report*, IX (July 1, 1891-June 30, 1892), 40.

⁷⁹ "Minutes," Jan. 27, 1900, item 7.

⁸⁰ Roosevelt to Silas P. Dutcher, Mar. 17, 1890, Roosevelt Papers.

⁸¹ A few months after the Pendleton Act became effective, the proceeds from political assessments of federal employees dropped to between one-half and one-fourth of the amount previously collected. *Annual Report*, I (July 16, 1883-Jan. 16, 1884), 10. For further evidence of the decline of assessments, see *ibid.*, II (Jan. 16, 1884-Jan. 16, 1885), 27-28; IV (Jan. 16, 1886-June 30, 1887), 124, 498-540; IX (July 1, 1891-June 30, 1892), 3, 5. Even the old spoilsman William E. Chandler cooperated with the Commission to stop assessments. Chandler to Procter, Oct. 24 and 27, 1898, Procter Papers.

employees began to substitute loyalty to a national agency or office, which of course had a nationalizing effect.

Despite the nonpartisan goal of the Pendleton Act, politicians still derived some profit from the civil service during this period, especially from the unclassified branches. Although President Cleveland issued an order restricting the political activities of officeholders, Roosevelt maintained that neither Cleveland nor Harrison enforced it.⁸² "We never supposed President Harrison would set the Potomac on fire with his burning zeal for reform," enraged reformers cried in protest, "but we did at first think he would enforce the law and the rules of the service."⁸³ The public service, however, for years had been an adjunct of politics, and inertia kept a large number of politically minded individuals applying for entrance even through the merit system. The *Civil Service Record* commented that it "has been officially stated again and again by the Civil Service Commission, that under a Democratic administration hardly any but Democrats apply, just as under the Republican administration hardly any but Republicans have applied. This the Commission is trying to change. . . ."⁸⁴ The civil service was in a state of transition. The trend was toward political neutrality, but much partisanship remained.

Businessmen, not politicians, profited most from the merit system. Service in post offices and customhouses was vastly improved. In the early 1870's, "incompetency, neglect, confusion and drunkenness" that staggered "credulity" prevailed in the New York Post Office. An incoming postmaster discovered 400 to 600 bags of neglected mail scattered throughout the building, and, on one occasion, a book clearly addressed to Vice-President Schuyler Colfax was delayed for months.⁸⁵ A special commission investigating the New York Customhouse in 1877 complained that a general atmosphere of laxness was prevalent.⁸⁶ The institution of the merit system in the New York Post Office and Customhouse (even before the passage of the Pendleton bill) improved their service and thoroughly pleased the business community.⁸⁷

The merit system, perfected and made permanent by the Pendleton Act, increased efficiency elsewhere. During the fiscal year ending in June, 1896, the Railway Mail Service made less than one-third the errors it had made

⁸² Roosevelt to Herbert Welsh, Nov. 6, 1891, in *Letters*, ed. Morison, *et al.*, I, 266.

⁸³ *Civil Service Record*, XI, No. 4 (Oct., 1891), 24.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, XI, No. 1 (July, 1891), 1.

⁸⁵ Dorman B. Eaton, *Civil Service Reform in the New York City Post Office and Customhouse* (House Executive Document, 46 Cong., 3 sess., XXVIII, No. 94), 40.

⁸⁶ *Commissions to Examine Certain Custom-Houses of the United States* (House Executive Document, 45 Cong., 1 sess., I, No. 8), 14-16.

⁸⁷ Eaton, *Civil Service Reform*, 37, 41-42.

six years previously, when it was first classified.⁸⁸ Commissioner Roosevelt proudly stated in 1895 that "every Cabinet officer whom I have seen in Washington has, before the end of his term, come to the conclusion that if there was any bureau in which he needed special efficiency, he had to put it under the civil service law. . . . [T]he failure to classify the Census Office under the law . . . cost the Government just about two million dollars. The post offices where the law is most faithfully observed are precisely the offices where the best service is rendered to the public and where the employes are most able, courteous, and efficient."⁸⁹

Not only did businessmen receive better service in post offices and custom-houses, but, when the elimination of assessments deprived political bosses of a prime source of revenue, businessmen supplied money and dictated policy. The independent, capricious boss of the 1870's was replaced in the 1890's by the quiet, steady boss attentive to the interests of businessmen. Furthermore, blatant scandals that characterized the pre-1883 civil service did not flourish under the Pendleton Act. The merit system, therefore, provided the man of business with a more efficient civil service and at the same time increased his power.⁹⁰

The business ideal of efficiency also influenced the civil service. Reformers, who had always called for economy in government, pointed to American business as a model for the civil service.⁹¹ It is questionable, however, whether private business methods were any more efficient than those pursued in government service. In the last part of the nineteenth century, "industrial statesmen" strove for efficiency, but were confronted with chaotic conditions that took years to put in order. Personnel management, for instance, remained in a primitive state until the World War I era.⁹² Although

⁸⁸ During the fiscal year ending on June 30, 1890, the Railway Mail Service made one error for every 2,834 pieces of mail it correctly handled. Six years later, it made one error for every 9,843 items it correctly handled. Postmaster General W. L. Wilson attributed this steady improvement to the civil service rules. See *Annual Report*, XIII (July 1, 1895-June 30, 1896), 12, for excerpts from Wilson's report of 1896.

⁸⁹ Roosevelt to Judson Grenell, Apr. 29, 1895, in *Letters*, ed. Morison, *et al.*, I, 448-49.

⁹⁰ Matthew Josephson, *The Politicos, 1865-1896* (New York, 1938), 406-13, elaborates on this idea. He assumes that since businessmen profited from the civil service reform movement that they originated it. *Ibid.*, *passim*. Businessmen actually had little to do with its origins. Hoogenboom, "Outlawing the Spoils," 303-12.

⁹¹ See, for example, *Congressional Globe*, 39 Cong., 2 sess., 838 (Jan. 29, 1867); *Nation*, XII, No. 297 (Mar. 9, 1871), 148; *Congressional Record*, 47 Cong., 1 sess., 80 (Dec. 13, 1881).

⁹² Sears, Roebuck and Company and A. T. Stewart and Company serve as typical examples. Neither of these companies had a formalized personnel policy in the 1890's. Long hours, poor working conditions, indiscriminate hiring and firing, and no policy on promotions resulted in a rapid turnover of help. Boris Emmet and John E. Jeuck, *Catalogues and Counters: A History of Sears, Roebuck and Company* (Chicago, 1950), 137-39; Robert W. Twyman, *History of Marshall Field & Co. 1852-1906* (Philadelphia, 1954), 78. Marshall Field & Co. was very advanced in its personnel policy, but this company was exceptional. *Ibid.*, 61-83.

reformers demanded "business methods" in the public service, no private business employed a labor force comparable to that of the government. Consequently, none could supply it with a tailor-made personnel program. The United States civil service did derive an ideal of efficiency from businessmen, but it adopted most of its personnel techniques from the British civil service rather than the world of business. Open competitive examinations administered by a commission and many other features of the American system were imported from England.⁹³

From 1883 to 1900 the civil service was in a state of transition. The power of the Civil Service Commission was growing with the steady increase of classified positions. An unprofessional civil service was becoming more professionalized. Better educated civil servants were being recruited and were accorded a higher place in society. Local political considerations were giving way in civil servants' minds to concerns of a federal office whose interests were national. The influence and ideals of the politician were being replaced by those of the businessman. These changes did more than outline the future development of the American civil service; they also reflected growing professionalization, the development of national feeling, and the power of the businessman in American society of that day. Gradually and peacefully, with a minimum of disruption, the civil service, like the larger social order, was transformed.

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⁹³ Charles Sumner and Thomas A. Jenckes patterned their civil service reform bills upon British precedents; the Grant Civil Service Commission looked to England for advice; and Dorman B. Eaton, author of the Pendleton Act, was the foremost American expert on the British civil service. Hoogenboom, "Outlawing the Spoils," *passim*.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The Horoscope of Barbarossa's First-Born

LYNN THORNDIKE

WHEN the *Annales Stadensis*, composed about 1230, were published in 1859 in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*,¹ they included a *figura coeli* or horoscope, which unfortunately was reproduced in a garbled form by a Philip, of a place the name of which had been obliterated, of the nativity "of his lord Frederick, son of lord Frederick, Emperor of the Romans, whom lady Beatrix Augusta bore on Thursday, July 16, 1164, at the third hour in the city of Pavia."² It is known from other sources that Barbarossa and Beatrix were in Pavia at that date, but historians had long accepted Henry VI as the oldest son of Frederick Barbarossa, so that the editor of the *Annales Stadensis* in the *Monumenta* added in a note: "It is not clear to what Frederick this is to be referred; we know that the son of Frederick Barbarossa named Frederick was not older than Henry VI, born in 1165; for Frederick of Swabia was younger than Henry."³ In 1890 the author of a doctoral dissertation on the children of Barbarossa dismissed the horoscope as "das Ganze Spielerei eines gelehrten Mönchs."⁴

On the contrary, no more precise record of the date and place of one's birth can be expected from that period by the historian. In an age when astronomy-astrology was the supreme natural science, the method of drawing up a nativity was made as scientific and mathematical as possible. For if one wished to predict the future life and destiny of an individual, it was absolutely essential that the time of his birth should be as exactly determined

¹ *Annales Stadensis auctore Alberto*, ed. Io. M. Iappenberg, I.U.D., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XVI (1859), 271-379.

² *Ibid.*, 329: ". . . Philippi . . . -sis monasterii per quem sibi factam astronomice inventam de nativitate domni sui Friderici filii domni Friderici Romanorum imperatoris, quem domna Beatrix augusta enixa est a.D. 1164, 16 die Iulii, 5 feria, hora 3, in civitate Papia. Cuius Beatricis obitum infra habet a.D. 1185 cum papa Lucio. Et idem Fridericus frater erat Philippi [*sic*] regis."

³ *Idem*, "Ad quemnam Fridericum haec sint referenda non liquet; Friderici Barbarossae filium cui Friderico nomen natu maiorem Heinricho VI. a. 1165 nato non novimus; Fridericus enim Suavicus minor Heinricho fuit natu."

⁴ Karl Wilhelm Hug, *Die Kinder Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossas* (Heidelberg Diss., Würzburg, 1890), 42.

as possible. Rather, records of birth became fewer and less reliable as astrology went out.

Meanwhile, other evidence that Frederick was the first-born and Henry the second son had come to light and been accepted by Wilhelm Giesebrecht and Paul Scheffer-Boichorst. But some still contended that the first Frederick had died in infancy and that the name had been given again to a later son of Barbarossa.⁵ In 1935 Güterboch completely confuted this contention.⁶

The purpose of the present note is to adduce another version of the horoscope of Frederick from a manuscript of the thirteenth century,⁷ where it occurs in a different context. The contents of this manuscript are largely mathematical and astronomical, including Euclid's *Elements*, Hermann Contractus, and the *Computus* and *Sphere* of John of Sacrobosco. Opposite the horoscope, in the left-hand column of fol. 183 recto, are instructions written in a different hand, on how to make an astrolabe. These instructions end with the first line of the right-hand column. Then comes the horoscope, and beneath it, in the same hand, is a statement of the positions of the planets in A.D. 1254. The text that accompanies the horoscope differs somewhat from that in the *Annales Stadensis* and runs thus:

Hanc tabulam collegit magister Philippus Ianuensis inventam astronomicis argumentis de nativitate domini sui Friderici filii Friderici Romanorum imperatoris, quem Beatrix augusta enixa est anno domini M. C. lxxiii Iulii xvi die v feria hora iiii in civitate Papia, et deprehense sunt ab eo planete tunc in eisdem signis et gradibus extitisse.

Thus the one who drew up the horoscope is precisely indicated as a master Philip of Genoa, without the misleading mention of a monastery found in the *Annales Stadensis*. The positions of the planets, as given in the conventional *figura coeli*, a square with twelve right-angled triangles representing the signs of the zodiac and surrounding an inner square, are as follows:

The horoscope (indicated as *hora solis* in both manuscript and *Monu-*

⁵ It was perhaps for that reason that Ulysse Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge*, *Bio-Bibliographie*, 1905, gave the date of birth of Frederic V of Swabia as 1168-69. And in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, V (New York, 1929), 407, "the knighting of the two elder sons of Frederick, King Henry and Duke Frederick of Swabia," gives the impression that Henry was the older.

⁶ Ferdinand Güterboch, "Barbarossas ältesten Sohn und die Thronfolge des Zweitegeborenen," *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXIX (1935), 509-40, which see for previous bibliography. At page 511, he says:

Hier entsteht nun aber die schon viel erörterte, jedoch noch nicht sicher beantwortete Frage, ob Heinrich VI als ältester der Bruder auf den Thron erhoben wurde oder ob der bald nach dem Vater auf dem dritten Kreuzzug gestorbene Herzog Friedrich von Schwaben als älterer das Licht der Welt erblickt hat.

⁷ Copenhagen Gl. kgl. S.277, folio membrane, saec. xiii, now comprising only fols. 86-117, 135-43, 145-46, 148-59, 161-67, 169-93. See Ellen Jørgensen, *Catalogus codicum latinorum medii aevi Bibliothecae Regiae Hafniensis* (1926), 417-18.

menta) or sign in the ascendent at the moment of birth, is Leo with the planet Venus in its first degree. Next comes Jupiter in 26° Libra (*Monumenta* has 76° Libra, which is absurd, as there are only thirty degrees to a sign; apparently the old Arabic numeral for 2 has been misread as 7). The triangle for Scorpio is left blank in the manuscript, although the others bear the names of their signs, but in the figure of the *Annales Stadensis* has Mars 9°. Saturn is indicated as retrograde in 11° Sagittarius. After four signs unoccupied by any planet, the moon is marked in 22° Taurus (again *Monumenta* has the impossible number 77°). *Caput draconis* is in 14° Gemini (the 9° of *Monumenta* would seem due to mistaking the Arabic 14 for a Roman ix). Finally, Mercury occupies 10° Cancer.

Professor O. Neugebauer has very obligingly checked these planetary positions of the manuscript horoscope, and writes:

I have no doubt that this horoscope corresponds to the given date. The consistent deviations are probably due to the zero point for longitude used in the tables. Saturn and Venus are rather inaccurate (I would check all readings), but no change in date is possible which would repair the situation.

There remains one question. For the historian the chief value of a horoscope may be chronological, but for the twelfth century it was astrological. The time of one's birth and the positions of the planets then were valued as the basis for an estimate of one's physical constitution, mental traits, career, and character. There had been a great output of Latin translations of Arabic astrologers in the second quarter of the twelfth century, which shows the widespread enthusiasm for and intense interest in astrology that then prevailed. No prediction based upon the nativity of Frederick accompanies the horoscope as it has come down in the *Annales Stadensis* and the Copenhagen manuscript. But it is hard to believe that one was not drawn up originally, and the probability is that the same is true in the case of Henry VI, for whom not even a *figura coeli* seems to be extant. The remaining question, therefore, is whether the forecasts for the two boys were such as to lead Barbarossa to decide to make the younger king of the Romans and the older only duke of Swabia?⁸

⁸ Güterboch, 538, suggests that "der Kaiser so die freie Königswahl gegenüber dem Erbrechtsanspruch unterstrich und vor allen die Trennung von Königskrone und schwäbischen Herzogtum einer bereits bestehenden Tradition entsprechend festlegte." It might be objected that the choice of Henry at the age of four does not indicate a very free election. On the other hand, just as one would expect Barbarossa's oldest son to be named Frederick like his father, grandfather, and greatgrandfather (even Henry VI gave the same name to his son), so there may have been a like motive to make him duke of Swabia. Güterboch does not note the parallel of William the Conqueror's oldest son Robert succeeding him as duke of Normandy, and his second son William Rufus as king of England. And there Robert did not have his father's name.

Fate, we may perhaps finally remind the reader, was not kind with respect to their life span, to the progeny of Barbarossa and Beatrix. All five sons, like their mother, died before they were forty.

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The Seven Martyrs?

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ONE of the firmly fixed stereotypes in American history concerns the seven Radical Republicans—William Pitt Fessenden of Maine, Joseph Smith Fowler of Tennessee, James W. Grimes of Iowa, John B. Henderson of Missouri, Edmund G. Ross of Kansas, Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, and Peter Van Winkle of West Virginia—who voted for President Andrew Johnson's acquittal in the celebrated impeachment trial. It has become the accepted view that the seven senators were relentlessly persecuted, not alone during and immediately after the trial, but indefinitely until they were forced altogether from the American political scene.

Several leading college textbooks in use today expound this black legend.¹ It is not surprising, therefore, to find Senator John Kennedy's popular treatment of political courage adhering to the established historical opinion that *all* the "martyrs" suffered a permanent political setback as a result of voting for Johnson's acquittal.²

This myth gained wide currency in part because two of the seven acquitters, John B. Henderson³ and Edmund G. Ross,⁴ could not resist adopting this reasoning in their later writings to explain why they did not go further in politics. Also, one of Lyman Trumbull's old friends, Joseph Medill of the Chicago *Tribune*, who wrote Trumbull's obituary, played up Trumbull's impeachment stand as the cause for his leaving the Republican party and omitted any account of the Liberal Republican revolt, a political upheaval that was personally painful to Medill.⁵

On the surface, since none of the seven acquitters ever won reelection to

¹ Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (4th ed., 2 vols., New York, 1950), II, 45; John D. Hicks, *The American Nation* (3d ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1955), 27; Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic* (Boston, 1956), 479; Leland D. Baldwin, *Survey of American History* (New York, 1955), 334; Henry Bamford Parkes, *The United States of America* (New York, 1954), 384.

² John F. Kennedy, *Profiles in Courage* (New York, 1956), 126–51. For other historical writing perpetuating the idea that all of the seven acquitting Republican senators were rooted out of political life, see James Truslow Adams, *The March of Democracy* (New York, 1933), 126; Walter Lynwood Fleming, *The Sequel of Appomattox*, *Chronicles of America Series*, XXXII (New Haven, Conn., 1919), 168.

³ John B. Henderson, "Emancipation and Impeachment," *Century*, LXXXV (Dec., 1912), 196–209.

⁴ Edmund G. Ross, "Historic Moments: The Impeachment Trial," *Scribner's Magazine*, XI (Apr., 1892), 519–24; *id.*, "A Previous Era of Popular Madness and Its Lessons," *Forum*, XIX (July, 1895), 595–605.

⁵ Chicago *Tribune*, June 26, 1896. See also Chicago *Times*, June 26, 1896.

the Senate, this belief seems substantiated. Yet if this were an authentic criterion the converse should be true: that a large majority of the Republicans who voted as the party desired should have won reelection. The results are far from conclusive. Out of thirty-five Republican senators who voted for conviction, seventeen—less than half—won immediate reelection as Republicans.⁶ An eighteenth, Orris S. Ferry, was reelected only with Liberal Republican and Democratic support.⁷ A nineteenth, Lot Morrill of Maine, after being defeated for an immediate renomination, was appointed by the governor to the seat vacated by the death of one of the “martyrs,” William Pitt Fessenden.⁸

What of the twelve Johnson Republicans and Democrats who cast the bulk of the nineteen votes for the President’s acquittal? There were three Johnson Republicans. Two of them, James Dixon⁹ of Connecticut and James Rood Doolittle¹⁰ of Wisconsin, were retired in favor of regular Republicans. The third, Daniel S. Norton¹¹ of Minnesota, died before the expiration of his senatorial term. The nine regular Democrats all voluntarily retired or were defeated for reelection. Doubtless their vote on Johnson’s acquittal was incidental to their fate, yet they did not return to the Senate although they voted as their party dictated. Then, as now, many crosscurrents entered into a senatorial election. Senator Willard Saulsbury of Delaware, for example, was supplanted by his own brother, also a Democrat.¹²

Consider the Republican senators who were waverers, men who leaned toward acquittal only to recant. Does their fate strongly indicate that if the seven had recanted they yet could have been politically “saved”? It does not. The votes of three senators were in doubt on all the articles until the end. These men who ultimately voted for conviction were Edwin D. Morgan of New York, William Sprague of Rhode Island, and Waitman T. Willey of West Virginia.¹³ Morgan¹⁴ and Willey¹⁵ were defeated for renomination.

⁶ See the lists of senators for the Fortieth to the Forty-Third Congresses in *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (Washington, D. C., 1950), 299-337.

⁷ *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-58), VI, 343; *ibid.*, VIII, 197.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XIII, 200.

⁹ *Ibid.*, V, 329.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, V, 375.

¹¹ *Biographical Directory*, 1621.

¹² See the list of senators in *ibid.*, 299-337; *DAB*, XVI, 379.

¹³ *Nashville Republican Banner*, Apr. 14, 23, 1868, May 5, 1868; *Peoria National Democrat*, May 6, 1868; *New York Times*, May 12, 1868, May 13, 1868; *Baltimore Sun*, May 13, 1868; *Baltimore Gazette*, May 14, 1868; James A. Rawley, *Edwin D. Morgan, 1811-1883, Merchant in Politics* (New York, 1955), 228.

¹⁴ Rawley, *Morgan*, 231-32.

¹⁵ Charles Henry Ambler, *A History of West Virginia* (New York, 1933), 377; James Morton Callahan, *Semi-Centennial History of West Virginia* (Morgantown, W. Va., 1913), 456; Sylvester Myers, *Myers' History of West Virginia* (New Martinsville, W. Va., 1915), II, 302-303, 338; *DAB*, XX, 246-47.

Sprague alone won a renomination and a reelection. His career was undisputed and he was retired in 1875.¹⁶

These cases illustrate the uncertainty of any senator's reelection at that time. Also, it indicates that reelection to the Senate alone is no criterion for judging the continuing temper of the period regarding Johnson's acquitters.

The seven acquitters were all under heavy pressure,¹⁷ but in the case of the better-known senators—Fessenden, Trumbull, and Grimes—it was not seriously continued once it was certain they could not be swayed.¹⁸ In the case of the lesser-known senators—Van Winkle, Fowler, Henderson, and Ross—it was severe.¹⁹ Ross, coming from a state where Republicanism was equated with patriotism and exhibiting signs of uncertainty as to his course, was under prolonged vilification during and immediately after the trial.²⁰

Often overlooked is the backing that the stand of the seven attracted. There was considerable Republican newspaper support for independent voting at the time of the trial.²¹ Also, prominent Republicans from many walks of life—college presidents, leading merchants and bankers, and members of the state and federal judiciary—supported the right of the seven to vote as their consciences dictated.²²

As to later careers, the seven acquitters were not, as a group, hounded out of politics. Their individual fates differed widely. Yet they all remained within the Republican party at the time of the trial and for years thereafter.

¹⁶ Thomas Graham Belden and Marva Robins Belden, *So Fell the Angels* (Boston, 1956), 190–95, 291.

¹⁷ Henderson, "Emancipation and Impeachment," 205–206; Ross, "Historic Moments," 523–24; *id.*, "A Previous Era of Popular Madness," 604–605; Jessie O. Norton to O. H. Browning, May 18, 1868, Orville H. Browning Papers, Illinois State Historical Library; *Baltimore Gazette*, May 14, 1868; *Memphis Avalanche*, May 16, 1868; *New York Tribune*, May 19, 1868; *Philadelphia Press*, May 19, 1868; *Cincinnati Gazette*, May 20, 1868; *New York Times*, May 20, 1868; John Bozier to W. P. Fessenden, May 12, 1868, W. P. Fessenden Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁸ *Nation*, VI (June 18, 1868), 482; *Chicago Republican* as reprinted in *Peoria National Democrat*, May 19, 1868; *New York World*, May 13, 1868; *Indianapolis Journal*, May 14, 1868; Lyman Trumbull to C. H. Ray, May 26, 1868, C. H. Ray Papers, Huntington Library; Shelby M. Cullom, *Fifty Years of Public Service* (Chicago, 1911), 157.

¹⁹ *Nation*, VI (June 18, 1868), 482; *New York World*, May 13, 1868; Henderson, "Emancipation and Impeachment," 205–206; Ross, "Historic Moments," 523–24; *id.*, "A Previous Era of Popular Madness," 604–605; *Baltimore Gazette*, May 14, 1868.

²⁰ Ross, "Historic Moments," 523–24; *id.*, "A Previous Era of Popular Madness," 604–605; *Nation*, VI (June 18, 1868), 482; George S. Merriam, *The Life and Times of Samuel Bowles* (New York, 1885), II, 37.

²¹ See Ralph J. Roske, "Republican Newspaper Support for the Acquittal of President Johnson," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, XI (Sept., 1952), 263–73.

²² William Salter, *The Life of James W. Grimes; Governor of Iowa, 1854–1858: A Senator of the United States, 1859–1869* (New York, 1876), 358; Francis Fessenden, *Life and Public Services of William Pitt Fessenden* (Boston and New York, 1907), II, 227–29; Trumbull to Ray, May 22, 26, and June 8, 1868, Ray Papers; Trumbull to John D. Caton, June 4, 1868, John D. Caton Papers, Library of Congress; Trumbull to Gustave Koerner, May 20, 1868, in *Belleville Advocate* as reprinted in *New York Times*, June 5, 1868.

The national convention meeting in Chicago in May, 1868, at the height of the furor, contented itself with praising the thirty-five Republican senators who voted for conviction. It ignored the seven acquitters.²³

All of the seven campaigned actively for Grant in 1868.²⁴ They retained their committee assignments and standing within the party in the Senate. In 1869, Ross, the most maligned of the seven, was able to block the confirmation by the Senate of a Grant appointee to a Kansas postmastership.²⁵ Also, in 1869, Trumbull, the most active of the acquitters in securing votes and shoring up waverers on his side during the trial, was elected to the steering committee which arranged the business of the Forty-First Congress.²⁶ James W. Grimes of Iowa, who had been stricken by a paralytic attack during the trial, slowly seemed to regain his health, and quickly regained his political strength. He wrote a friend in March, 1869, less than a year after the trial: "The impeachment *furor* has entirely subsided here [Washington], and those who voted for it are now on the defensive, rather than those who voted against it. Between us, I am satisfied that I am stronger in the Senate in every respect, where I am so well known, than I ever was before I was tried in the furnace of impeachment. The only evil resulting to me from that attempt to act according to my convictions, has been the injury to my health."²⁷

The manner in which the seven retired from the Senate and the unfolding of their later careers call for more scrutiny. Grimes journeyed to Europe in the late spring of 1869, and seemed completely recovered when a second paralytic attack struck him. Realizing that he could never again regularly attend the sessions of the Senate, he resigned on August 11, 1869, a year and a half before the close of his term. Invalided, he lived on until February 7, 1872.²⁸

William Pitt Fessenden also had his career cut short by death. Under attack by his enemies within the party in Maine, he was locked in a bitter contest for control of the Republican legislators to ensure his return to the Senate when he died suddenly on September 9, 1869.²⁹

Peter Van Winkle possessed a rather conservative voting record during

²³ Chicago *Tribune*, May 18, 22, 1868; Trumbull to Ray, May 22, 1868, Ray Papers; Peoria *National Democrat*, May 23, 1868.

²⁴ *Nation*, VII (Sept. 24, 1868), 241; (Oct. 1, 1868), 262.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, VIII (Apr. 22, 1869), 303.

²⁶ New York *Times*, May 16, 1868; New York *Tribune*, May 16, 1868; Baltimore *Gazette*, May 14, 1868; Fish P. Hunt to Horace Greeley, May 13, 1868, Benjamin F. Wade Papers, Library of Congress; Washington *Chronicle*, Mar. 10, 1869.

²⁷ James W. Grimes to Henry W. Starr, Mar. 18, 1869, in Salter, *Grimes*, 367.

²⁸ Salter, *Grimes*, 372, 376, 387.

²⁹ Fessenden, *Life*, II, 328-30.

his term and this, in addition to his vote in the impeachment trial, made him easy prey for the popular, thrice-elected governor of West Virginia, Arthur I. Boreman, an orthodox Radical Republican.³⁰ The Democrats swept West Virginia in 1870 and fastened a death grip on the state-wide offices which lasted for years.³¹ Van Winkle could have continued his career as an office-holder only by changing parties, a course probably rendered impossible by his earlier leading role in the process of shearing West Virginia from the Old Dominion during the Civil War.³² In any event, Van Winkle's death in 1872, a scant three years after his retirement from the Senate, precluded a later political career.³³

Joseph Smith Fowler was succeeded in 1871 by a Democrat. Fowler lost because he remained a Republican, while control of the Tennessee legislature rested with the Democrats and their allies.³⁴ His vote for Johnson's acquittal won him no Democratic support for reelection. Indeed, former President Johnson was a leading candidate for Fowler's place.³⁵ Fowler left the Republican party in 1872 at the time of the Liberal Republican uprising and ran successfully as a presidential elector. With the collapse of the organization he withdrew from politics. He found neither the Radical Republicans nor the conservative Democrats to his taste and moved to Washington, D. C., where he practiced law until his death in 1902.³⁶

When Edmund G. Ross's term drew to a close in 1871 he was passed over for a renomination which in Republican Kansas would have been tantamount to reelection.³⁷ Serious charges that money influenced the result seem valid in the light of the venal state of Kansas politics in the 1870's.³⁸ It is problematical whether the honest Ross could have gained a renomination at that time, regardless of his vote on Johnson's acquittal. Ross successively joined the Liberal Republicans, then the Democrats. He ran unsuc-

³⁰ *DAB*, XIX, 220; *ibid.*, II, 461-62; Myers, *History*, II, 283-84; Ambler, *History*, 348; Callahan, *History*, 176, 455.

³¹ Ambler, *History*, 367, 368-69, 371, 372, 377; Callahan, *History*, 176-77, 456-57; Myers, *History*, II, 283-84, 302-303, 338.

³² *Biographical Directory*, 1953; *DAB*, XIX, 219-20; *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI (New York, 1888-89), 257; Ambler, *History*, 348, 372; Myers, *History*, I, 408, 415, 417; II, 302-303; Callahan, *History*, 142-51, 176, 177, 321, 450-52, 455.

³³ *DAB*, XIX, 220.

³⁴ *DAB*, VI, 564.

³⁵ Lloyd P. Stryker, *Andrew Johnson: A Study in Courage* (New York, 1929), 783-84.

³⁶ *DAB*, VI, 564.

³⁷ *Appleton's Cyclopaedia*, V, 327-28; *DAB*, XVI, 175-76; *Biographical Directory*, 1759; Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1912), II, 497 n.

³⁸ Samuel J. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties* (Chicago, 1911), 345-46. In 1873 Ross's colleague, Senator Pomeroy, was refused a reelection when it was revealed that he had attempted to bribe legislators. See *DAB*, XV, 54-55.

cessfully as a Democratic elector in 1876 and as a gubernatorial candidate in 1880.³⁹ Despairing of success in Kansas, he moved to the New Mexico Territory. Here he became a power in Democratic politics, and in 1885 President Grover Cleveland appointed him territorial governor. Ross had a stormy term; he quarreled with Republicans and Democrats alike. A Republican supplanted him in 1889, and when Cleveland returned to office in 1893 he did not consider Ross for reappointment because of his record.⁴⁰ In 1896 the embattled Ross, critical of free silver, left the Democrats and died outside both parties.⁴¹

Ross's situation contrasts strongly with that of John Brooks Henderson, who had resisted the entreaties of General Grant to vote for Johnson's conviction but had retained the General's personal friendship.⁴² Henderson was unfortunate in that his term expired in March, 1869. Since his reelection chances seemed remote, he publicly announced his retirement in 1868.⁴³ Yet there was covert support for Henderson's immediate renomination and President-elect Grant was understood to prefer him. Carl Schurz secured from Henderson the support of the moderate wing of the party, however, and won the Republican nomination.⁴⁴

In 1870 Henderson supported the successful Liberal Republican revolt in Missouri against the Radical party regulars. He was named its senatorial nominee in an effort to reunite the party, but failed to obtain the support of the splinter groups in the legislature and the Democratic candidate was chosen.⁴⁵ Back in the regular ranks, Henderson was the unsuccessful party choice for governor in 1872 and senator in 1873.⁴⁶ He was appointed by President Grant as federal district attorney at the time of the Whisky Ring prosecution, but Grant considered his courtroom remarks offensive and summarily dismissed him. Only then did the Henderson-Grant friendship end. He led the anti-Grant faction of the Missouri Republicans for the next eight years.⁴⁷ In 1884 he was officially "forgiven," if indeed he needed for-

³⁹ *Appleton's Cyclopedia*, V, 328; *DAB*, XVI, 175-76; Twitchell, *History*, II, 497 n.

⁴⁰ Twitchell, *History*, II, 497 n., 500-501, 515-17; Horatio O. Ladd, *The Story of New Mexico* (Boston, 1913), 451-52; *DAB*, XVI, 175-76.

⁴¹ Ross, "A Previous Era of Popular Madness," 595-605; Twitchell, *History*, II, 497 n.; *DAB*, XVI, 175-76.

⁴² Henderson, "Emancipation and Impeachment," 204-205, 207.

⁴³ Thomas S. Barclay, *The Liberal Republican Movement in Missouri* (Columbia, Mo., 1926), 140-41.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 151, 155-61; Eugene Violette, *A History of Missouri* (Boston, 1918), 419.

⁴⁵ *DAB*, VIII, 528-29; Barclay, *Liberal Republican Movement*, 233-79.

⁴⁶ Violette, *History*, 426; *DAB*, VIII, 528-29.

⁴⁷ *DAB*, VIII, 528-29.

givenness, when he was named presiding officer of the Republican national convention. This closed his political career.⁴⁸

Lyman Trumbull's term did not expire until 1873. In the meantime the Illinois and Chicago Republican organizations, which had pilloried his action in voting for Johnson's acquittal, forgave him.⁴⁹ In 1870 President Grant offered him the post of minister to Great Britain.⁵⁰ Trumbull had 103 recommendations for federal appointments to his credit in the first three years of Grant's initial term.⁵¹

Finally Trumbull, disgusted with the excesses of the Grant administration, joined the Liberal Republicans in 1872 and attempted vainly to win an immediate reelection. After his term expired Trumbull drifted into the Democratic party, which welcomed him. Samuel J. Tilden seriously considered him for a cabinet post in 1876 when it seemed that the New Yorker had been elected president. In 1880 Trumbull ran unsuccessfully for the governorship of Illinois. Retiring from active politics, he played the role of an elder statesman in the Democratic party until 1894, two years before his death. Then he openly affiliated with the Populists.⁵²

It is true that the acquitters, nationally and in their home states, suffered some damage in their relations with Republican party leaders. It was severe in the cases of Fowler, Van Winkle, and Ross—less so in the cases of Fessenden, Grimes, Henderson, and Trumbull. In assessing the effect of the impeachment trial on the seven regarding their intraparty ties it must be remembered that their vote of acquittal was symptomatic of their independence of party restraint which they displayed at times before and after the trial.

Of the four who lived until the Liberal Republican revolt, it is significant that all joined the coalition. Yet in the case of Henderson it was a fleeting connection that he severed before the movement became national. He then returned to the high councils of the Missouri Republican party. Ross and Trumbull used the Liberal Republican crusade as a bridge to cross over

⁴⁸ Horace White, *The Life of Lyman Trumbull* (Boston and New York, 1913), 326. White was present as an eyewitness of this scene.

⁴⁹ *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 21, 1868. William Ross to Lyman Trumbull, May 12, 1869; A. B. Moore to Trumbull, May 12, 1869; S. M. Skinner to Trumbull, May 22, 1869; Gershom Martin to Trumbull, May 29, 1869; John Olney to Trumbull, June 15, 1869; Joseph P. Root to Trumbull, Oct. 8, 1869; David Shepard to Trumbull, Sept. 26, 1870, Lyman Trumbull Papers, Library of Congress.

⁵⁰ White, *Trumbull*, 347-48.

⁵¹ *Congressional Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 sess., pt. 2, p. 1181 (Feb. 23, 1872).

⁵² White, *Trumbull*, 351-418; Ralph J. Roske, *The Civil War Career of Lyman Trumbull* (Abstract of doctoral thesis, Urbana, Ill., 1949), 7-11.

to the Democrats, and there they enjoyed all the prominence that the party could grant them.

The seven justly deserve lasting remembrance for their display of political courage. Yet they are a poor example for politicians to follow if the picture of their unrelieved martyrdom so often painted is allowed to stand unchallenged.

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* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

DE LA CONNAISSANCE HISTORIQUE. By *Henri-Irénée Marrou*. [Collections "Esprit."] (2d ed.; Paris: Éditions du Seuil. 1956. Pp. 298.)
LAWS AND EXPLANATION IN HISTORY. By *William Dray*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. 174. \$3.40.)

EVER since philosophers of history have abandoned their grand schemes of human evolution and have concentrated on the problems of historical method and knowledge it has been a rarity to find a historian with real philosophical capacities or a philosopher with a genuine feeling for history. Marrou is such a historian and Dray such a philosopher. The result is the attainment of a new phase in the discussion of the problems of history, a phase constituted by the consensus from both the historical and philosophical sides on three main points: the rejection of all "isms" from philosophy of history, whether these be dogmatic idealism, dogmatic positivism, or skeptical empiricism; the acceptance of the standard experience and performance of historians as the bases of philosophizing about history; and the elucidation of the presuppositions behind this experience and performance to the point of union with the general corpus of knowledge as the goal of such philosophizing. That Marrou and Dray have established such a consensus in works so different in heritage, in approach, in scope, and in form testifies to the stability of the common ground that has been reached.

Marrou's is a general work on the problem of historical knowledge, and as such it is a classic statement of both the problem and its working solution in our time. The streams of thought that he joins can be roughly classified as idealist and existential, but the juncture is a true synthesis along the lines of contemporary personalist philosophy, a position from which he rejects scholastic metaphysical requirements behind historical experience and places the whole many-sided lot of them within historical experience itself. Consequently Marrou denies all substantive laws or patterns of history, defines history as "the knowledge of the human past," and labels his own theory a "critical" philosophy of history to signify its function of demonstrating the limitations as well as the possibilities of historical knowing as it is actually practiced. The criticism is applied *seriatim* to the gamut of operations from the documentation of fact to the truth and utility of historical knowledge and writing, but the synthetic cast of Marrou's thinking pervades the whole discussion with a few leading principles. These can

be epitomized here, though with regrettable violence to the dramatic passion and stylistic charm of his prose. First, the central point in the act of historical knowledge is the historian. Secondly, historical knowledge consists in the tensile relationship, within the historian's experience, between the raw material of humanity that comes to him from the outside and the concepts of intelligibility that he has developed within himself, and this is a working relationship that applies to every level of historical knowing, from the reading of documents to the interpretation of an age. Thirdly, the historian's knowledge is necessarily limited, not only because of the paucity or plethora of documentary evidence but also because all human knowledge, past and present alike, is necessarily limited. Fourthly, the ultimate sanction of historical knowledge, as of all knowledge, is an act of faith. Fifthly, the historian must have "valid reasons" for his act of faith, but again the validity of these reasons is that of all human knowledge: it is based upon the continuous interaction between the Self and the Other which is attested pragmatically in the spiral pattern of knowledge.

Marrou has performed two signal services: he has shown how the varied demands upon the historian—scientific, interpretative, and ethical—are mutually dependent components of a single process, and he has shown how the flexibility and partiality of historical truth that results from this interplay are implications of contemporary philosophical attitudes toward all truth rather than particular failings of historians. I have but two reservations. First, when Marrou claims for his theory "precise norms" which permit valid judgments upon the truth of historical works, he evidently feels a canonical rigor which he has not here communicated—at least not to me. Secondly, in his eagerness to link the assumptions of historical knowledge to the principles of knowledge in general, Marrou has overleaped an intermediate but crucial stage of the problem; he has not stopped to ask whether there is a particular dimension in the relationship between the Historian's Self and the Historical Other, distinct from the generic Self-and-Other relationship which constitutes for him the generally applicable process of knowing humanity. This, however, is a problem for pioneering and not for synthesizing. Marrou has written a profound and eloquent testimonial of what it means to be a historian today. It should be translated and widely read.

Dray's accomplishment is—for the historical reader—more modest. Taking off from P. L. Gardiner's *The Nature of Historical Explanation*, he tackles a problem more familiar to philosophers of the analytic and positivist schools than to historians: is subsumption under general laws necessary for historical explanation? He resolves it through a severely delimited logical analysis that will itself have more overt appeal to philosophers than to historians. But his performance should be noted by historians, for it is an attempt to uncover a logic in historical explanations as they are and not as philosophers of science say they should be. The rebuttal of what such philosophers as Popper and Hempel say historical explanations should be is Dray's first task. Essentially, this rebuttal is a patient and

cogent demonstration that the "covering law model"—i.e., the position that the thing to be explained is satisfactorily explained only by its explicit or implicit reduction to an instance of a general law or hypothesis—simply does not satisfy the practicing historian's sense of explanation: the general laws are either too loosely connected with specific historical conditions to be logically required, or they must be made either too general or too specific to be explanatory of anything. How logicians will receive his argument I cannot judge, but certainly Dray's feeling for the historians' position in this debate—for their emphasis on particularity in subject matter, on differentiation in purpose, and on the coherent "story" (in Dray's logical version, "the model of the continuous series") in explanation—is both sensitive and sound. Nor does Dray's historical understanding fail when he deals with the obverse side of his study, the positive logic that governs historians' standard explanations. For he starts from the explicit recognition of the multiplicity of types of historical explanation—observational and empathetic, noncausal and causal ("how" and "why" explanations), eventual and active, dispositional and rational—and goes on to show the plurality of logical procedures within each type. Dray discusses the types of explanation separately, but a certain pattern of logical criteria seems to repeat itself in each case: the historian uses an inductive "judgment" for establishing the necessary conditions in an explanation, and he uses "pragmatic" logic for selecting the circumstances, the sequences, or the "rational" grounds that constitute the sufficient conditions in an explanation. These are criteria that will faithfully convey to philosophers an insight into the varieties of historical perspectives, but they do not have the rigor (particularly with two unresolved uses of "pragmatic," signifying both satisfaction in the historian and agency in history) to convey to historians much beyond the comfort that there is a niche in logic for what he does. It must be conceded that this impression of a common pattern among the types of explanation is a reader's inference and might well be resented by Dray as a violation of his logical niceties. But authors who do not themselves tie together their discursive analyses must suffer the audacities of reviewers who will try to do it for them.

The coincidental publication of these two volumes promises a fruitful community of labor if philosophers continue to refine their categories to account for the flexibility and mobility of the historian's logic and if historians continue to integrate their autonomous province into the federation of disciplined knowledge.

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LEONARD KRIEGER

THE PHILOSOPHY OF LAW IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE. By *Carl Joachim Friedrich*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1958. Pp. x, 252. \$4.75.)

PROFESSOR Friedrich's book discusses the problems of the philosophy of law, as they present themselves today, within a historical framework. The first part

of the book, over two-thirds of the work, is devoted to the historical development of legal thought. The second part, entitled "Systematic Analysis," which concerns itself with contemporary legal problems, is broadly conceived and integrates the historical perspectives derived from the first part of the book. Friedrich gives a concise summary of the historical development of legal thought from the heritage of the Old Testament to the present. Hardly any major figure in this development is missing; yet this is not in any way a "handbook," but a smoothly flowing analysis built around the various concepts of the nature of law. Thus, for example, the chapter "Law as Command" discusses Hobbes and the Utilitarians; "Law as the Expression of 'Pure Reason,'" handles Spinoza and Wolff, while "Law as Class Ideology" deals with Marx and Engels.

This is a book written with a purpose. In legal positivism and legal relativism Friedrich sees philosophies opposed to the value systems important to the concept of a just law. Positivism, which includes Hans Kelsen's pure theory of law in our time as well as that of Hobbes in the past, leads to a glorification of the state. The equation of law with power alone is opposed by Friedrich; justice and order are not opposed to each other but are interdependent. Power by itself cannot be the basis of justice. Bodin seems to Friedrich responsible for clearly dividing human laws from the natural laws, paralleling the analogous separation of power politics and morals by Machiavelli. All this is contrary to the final definition of just law which concludes the book: it is a system of reasonable rules grounded in the common experience of man. They seek to realize justice and thus need a system of higher values, which are created with the participation of all members of the legal community on the basis of a constitution and which rest upon the continuous common efforts of these members.

Whatever the practical limitations of this viewpoint—and Friedrich recognizes them—the object of the book does not markedly affect the judicious historical analysis. In a work so comprehensive it is obvious that much had to be omitted. The modern period concentrates on Germany, but this is justified since nineteenth-century Germany rather than France was the chief laboratory of legal thought. More serious is the absence of any discussion of theories of resistance to authority in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Perhaps it is through the legal thought of such theories that natural law as the criterion of higher values remained fresh and alive when it was being secularized elsewhere. The Huguenot, Catholic, and Puritan theorists could well be the bridge between the pre-Bodinian fusion of order and justice and the new fusion that Friedrich desires.

This book is an excellent introduction to the history of legal thought. At a time when most political scientists are abandoning the history of ideas for an increasingly empirical orientation, Friedrich continues to show what excellent results can be obtained through fusing both disciplines.

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GEORGE L. MOSSE

THE IDEA OF COLONIALISM. Edited by *Robert Strausz-Hupé* and *Harry W. Hazard*. [The Foreign Policy Research Institute Series, Number 5.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1958. Pp. 496. \$5.00.)

ONE of the great political problems of the modern era is the issue of colonialism. It not only has evoked a war of words of gigantic proportions, but anticolonialism has also become the focus of one of the major and most strident areas of conflict in the cold war. Despite the peaceful extension of the principle of national self-determination to former colonial areas or the enforced surrender of imperial control by more violent means, the West is still placed in a highly defensive and vulnerable position by the anticolonial campaign. At the present time, twenty-one members of the United Nations are former colonial dependencies. They usually band together on international issues under the slogan of an anticolonialism that has a built-in anti-Western bias. Consequently the anticolonial nations represent a formidable bloc in international life.

This volume, produced by the Foreign Policy Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania, presents the problem of colonialism in a reasonable perspective. Numerous contributors have analyzed the practice and patterns of colonial rule in specific areas. In general, the historical approach is utilized. In addition to the chapters on the traditional empires, there are excellent accounts of the aftermath of Japanese colonialism in Southeast Asia, anticolonialism in Latin America, Indian attitudes, and a fine analysis of Algeria. The contrast between Soviet colonial practices—for Soviet expansion has involved a kind of colonialism—and Soviet anticolonial propaganda is dissected in great and interesting detail.

The various contributions all stress the basic theme that colonialism has deep-seated historical roots and the West cannot disengage itself from its past without creating grave problems in the new states. In general, the solutions proposed for resolving these problems are of a gradualist nature. One practical suggestion is made by Professor William Y. Elliott who proposes the appointment of an undersecretary in the Department of State with authority to direct a coordinated program of operations and research, taking into account both the requirements of dependent peoples and the baffling problems faced by the countries that have recently become or are becoming independent. Such a program would combine the varying and sometimes diffuse aspects of foreign aid, technical assistance, information, and cultural programs. It would draw on the analytical and research abilities of our universities and foundations. He proposes that this program be coordinated with our NATO allies, and that NATO itself attack the problem under the general terms of Article II of the North Atlantic Treaty.

In their excellent summation, Paul Linebarger and Harry Hazard recognize that the frenetic campaign of "anti-colonialism" is not so much a reaction against colonial rule as it is the expression of the rage and despair of baffled peoples who

face overwhelming economic, political, and cultural problems in integrating their new nations into the modern world. The urgent nature of the problem and the deep emotionalism surrounding it demand the immediate solution of many practical problems for which a wide variety of organizational schemes exist. But it also demands, as the authors point out, research and planning in the vast field of proper relationships between the great and productive states of the world and those new states that know only poverty and illiteracy. The solution also demands semantic research to provide terminology that will describe exactly the relations of one area to another, thereby avoiding the emotionalism and partisanship surrounding the word "anti-colonial" and permitting an appeal to intellectuals in the lesser-developed areas to avoid the verbal trap that confronts them.

It may be hoped that the Foreign Policy Research Institute will continue this work. *The Idea of Colonialism* is a valuable contribution to measuring and clarifying this problem. Further researches could well be used in formulating a reasonable and rational policy to meet this world phenomenon.

Department of State

FRANCIS T. WILLIAMSON

GERMAN-JAPANESE RELATIONS 1936-1940. By *Frank William Iklé*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1956. Pp. 243. \$4.00.)

THE author has produced a diplomatic history of considerable interest and value on German-Japanese relations between 1936 and 1940. For both nations these were critical years of war preparation and the consolidation of totalitarian power. In this period Japan and Germany strove to find a common policy that would provide some basis for cooperation as each nation pursued its own ultra-nationalistic aims and policies of territorial and economic expansion within its own sphere of interest. For the most part the two powers acted independently, and often in a way that was not to the best interests of the other. The author deals well with the important fact that only twice did Japan and Germany find a common ground for action: in the Anti-Comintern Pact against Russia, made in 1936; and the Tripartite Pact against the United States in 1940. On the other hand the two outstanding events that showed the duplicity of the two nations and placed a severe strain on their relations were: the Sino-Japanese War, which started in July, 1937; and the formation of the German-Russian pact in August, 1939. The author quite fittingly emphasizes that German-Japanese association was indeed one of expediency in which both powers were bent on gaining, by any means at their disposal, their respective ends. The army controlled foreign relations in Japan and dominated almost all internal politics. In Germany one man, Joachim Ribbentrop, closely supervised by Hitler, handled foreign relations with Japan. The foreign offices in both countries had little to do with diplomatic negotiations. The author has succeeded in setting forth the main diplomatic issues facing these two nations. If the book has a weakness, it is in its slant and

emphasis, which is chiefly from Japan's point of view. A quite clear picture is gained of the relationship of Japan's inner political problems to its diplomatic negotiations. Similar treatment with respect to Germany, however, is lacking. One of the weakest chapters in the book, and one in which the reader is required to fill in with considerable detail, is that which deals with the repercussions of the German-Russian Non-Aggression Pact. The author states in his preface that one of his aims is to study the effect of the German-Japanese *rapprochement* "both upon the world at large and the two countries' internal developments." With respect to Japan this is well done, but with respect to Germany there are some outstanding deficiencies. The book is well documented. The bibliography is divided into unpublished and published documentary sources and periodical literature and newspapers. Materials in English, Japanese, and German appear to be well selected and should be valuable to students of diplomatic history in this field.

Pretoria, Union of South Africa

PAUL E. ECKEL

THE POLITICS OF INEQUALITY: SOUTH AFRICA SINCE 1948. By Gwendolen M. Carter. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958. Pp. 535. \$7.50.)

It is a delight to stand on this island of calm in the midst of the torrent of publications on South Africa, ranging from the near side of apologia to the far shore of diatribe. Here is a brilliant analysis of what the author calls the "political dynamics" of the Union since the Nationalist victory in 1948. The greatest emphasis is on the first five years of the Nationalist ministry, culminating in the 1953 election, which showed that 1948 was no fluke. The chapter on this latter election, with valuable appendixes, is the only study to date on the actual workings of the South African election law.

Professor Carter, like all Europeans, has had difficulty in learning about non-European political activity; but her extensive bibliography, with both Afrikaans and English materials, has produced an analysis of European parties that is masterful. Apartheid interests the writer only so far as it explains functional South African politics; and here the book shows that with all major parties supporting the same basic racial attitudes, apartheid is not the reason for Nationalist success. Instead, Professor Carter shows that a militant Afrikanerism brought the Nationalists into power and has kept them there. This Afrikanerism expresses itself in cultural and economic organizations, which the book makes adjuncts of the party; but it might be more accurate to say that the party is only the political manifestation of a "ware" Afrikanerism that ignores protests such as the Torch Commando, and whose attitudes make United Nations criticism of South Africa an asset to the government. Nevertheless, enough Afrikaners adhere to "English" parties so that the opposition has a slight formal popular majority, which increases

upon application of the Carter formula that the party holding an uncontested seat should be given 85 per cent of 85 per cent of its registered voters.

Although steeled to impartiality, the lack of a Nationalist sense of constitutionalism in the English tradition repels Professor Carter. But she does not hide her weariness over the equivocations of the opposition during the continuing constitutional crisis between 1951 and 1956.

It is a little surprising to read that only a party with a radically different racial program from that of the Nationalists can hope to defeat them, when the only party with such a program is the tiny Liberal one, which does not represent a single European constituency. Her alternative suggestion that the Nationalists might fall because of changes in basic Afrikaner mores seems only a trifle more plausible, considering the evidence she has developed previously concerning the pressures operating to ensure Afrikaner conformity.

University of Southern California

COLIN RHYS LOVELL

AMERICAN STUDIES IN EUROPE: THEIR HISTORY AND PRESENT ORGANIZATION. Volumes I and II. By *Sigmund Skard*. [Publications of the American Institute, University of Oslo, in cooperation with the Department of American Civilization, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, University of Pennsylvania.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1958. Pp. 357; 364-735. \$10.00 the set.)

THE author of this extensive history and encyclopedia of the study of American literature, history, and institutions in Europe is professor of "Literature, especially American" at the University of Oslo. In assembling the enormous masses of information presented in these two volumes, with the handsomely acknowledged assistance of the United States Information Service, he not only made extensive use of questionnaires but visited in person nearly fifty universities in twelve European countries and attended three national and two international conferences on the subject. He has also, more recently, toured the university circuit in the United States as a guest lecturer. The publication, by the American Institute of the University of Oslo in cooperation with the Department of American Civilization of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the University of Pennsylvania, has received financial support from the Norwegian Ministry of Church and Education, the University of Oslo, and the Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities. There are seven closely printed pages of acknowledgements.

With an introductory chapter on the general background and concluding ones on international organization and a summary of general conclusions, the surveys cover all European countries. (The United Kingdom, fifty-eight pages; France, sixty-one; Germany, 148; Norway, only eleven.) Yugoslavia is grouped with Rus-

sia and her satellites in a chapter on Eastern Europe but is not listed as a satellite as are (quite properly) the so-called German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia.

Professor Skard's criticism of his own work, expressed in the foreword as if to disarm the critic but certainly not needed for that purpose, is valid. The book is, as he says, weighed down with documentation. The writing, done at long intervals, is uneven. Much of it, however, is very fine. For example: "If to the British America was the prodigal that did not ever return, to the French it always remained an adopted child." And statistics in such a field as this cannot be kept abreast of constant changes.

In Germany, for example, since 1955-1956, the number of America Houses has been sharply reduced by the United States Information Service, although their useful book collections are still available at German-American libraries; and the number of students of *Amerikanistik* or *Amerikastudien* (America Studies, Studies of America by Germans, encouraged but not carried on by Americans) has continued to increase.

Skard knows the subject too well to accept without examination, as an indication of the amount or character of instruction or research in any field, either curricula or listed courses. He rightly senses the vital importance of the relationship of any proffered course to the final examination system. He knows (what Fulbright lecturers soon learn) that European students as well as American students are prone to study their professors rather than their subjects, and to listen to those who may eventually examine them, avoiding the visiting professor who will not. He notes the existence and activity of the German general organization, the Association for America Studies (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Amerikastudien*), but rightly deplores the diversity and lack of coordination of the program—perhaps inevitable in a country where the *Länder* are still so jealous of their autonomy in educational and other cultural matters, and the professors of their "academic freedom" to teach what and as they please.

It is interesting to note that, while in France and usually in Germany Americanisms are treated as errors in the use of English, in Norway good American usage is quite as acceptable as the English. Virtually everywhere, however, the study of the language and literature is the core of the America Studies curriculum. (A notable exception, which incidentally is highly praised here for its work, is the Salzburg Seminar.)

The chapter on Germany has been discussed at disproportionate length in this review because the author has seemed to consider—and has called—it the most important, and because the reviewer considers his own credentials best with reference to that chapter. The others seem equally well done.

University of Wisconsin

CHESTER V. EASUM

Ancient and Medieval History

THE DECIPHERMENT OF LINEAR B. By *John Chadwick*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 146. \$3.75.)

MICHAEL Ventris, a young English architect of extraordinary intelligence and flair, succeeded at the age of thirty (June, 1952) in deciphering the later Bronze Age script of Crete, Linear B, as an extremely archaic form of Greek. The stir in the archaeological world was immense, not only because the feat of cracking an unknown script in an unknown tongue without the help of bilinguals was itself unparalleled, but also because many archaeologists believed from excavation results that Greek was impossible at that particular time and place (Knossos in the fifteenth century B.C.) and were forced to revise their views of Minoan political history to include attack and domination from the mainland.

Ventris was the last of many who claimed to have deciphered the script (as Greek, semi-Hittite and Sanskrit, Etruscan, Basque), and his announcement was greeted skeptically in some conservative quarters. He called on John Chadwick, a Cambridge expert in early Greek philology, to help him in his analysis; the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* offered them twenty pages in 1953 to present it to scholars. Here results rather than methods were stressed; the documentation convinced most Greek scholars and archaeologists, but a few remained hostile. A. J. Beattie of Edinburgh, for example, went so far as to suggest that Ventris had put Greek into the script at one end before getting it out at the other, and that the entire method was faulty and slipshod. Beattie's article appeared in the *JHS* in 1956 almost simultaneously with Ventris' accidental death by automobile at the age of thirty-four; Ventris and Chadwick's monumental, decisive volume *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* appeared shortly afterward. Controversy raged briefly and bitterly in England, and Chadwick's new book must be regarded in some aspects as a defense of Ventris' reputation after death against a few die-hard critics.

The book is far more than a partisan apology, however. It is well mannered, delightfully and lucidly written, documented from Ventris' private correspondence and work notes. More than this, it surveys the whole field of Late Minoan and Mycenaean archaeology with emphasis on economic history and religion as deduced from the deciphered texts. Chadwick gives a clear account of the discovery and character of Linear B, its relations to Linear A, Cypro-Minoan, and the classical Cypriote syllabary, and the efforts of various scholars for fifty years to decipher it. He quotes wickedly from previous "solutions" (the international crackpot brigade still produces spasmodic renderings of the enigmatic Phaistos Disc; cf. "dogfish smiter on the creeping flower"), and gives generous recognition to those who made Ventris' achievement possible, notably the Americans Emmett Bennett and Alice Kober. He then proceeds minutely through the steps of decipherment and the formation of the "grid" in such a manner that no one

could now rationally deny Ventris' honesty or, I think, decipherment. (Numbers in place of sign-forms here make difficult reading, but doubtless practical printing.) He explains enough Greek philology to give the nonexpert a glimpse of the problems involved in reading a language five hundred years older than Homer and written with an inefficient syllabary by scribes with human failings on clay tablets that are mostly broken. The final chapter is a simplified résumé of *Documents* dealing with the tablet contents and their importance for Bronze Age cultural systems.

This is undoubtedly the best current introduction to the problems of Mycenaean "prehistoric" writing and language, both for those beginning their Aegean archaeological training and for anyone intrigued by the unlocking of unknown scripts to reveal cultures at work which were previously known only by their artistic debris.

Boston University

EMILY TOWNSEND VERMEULE

TROY: SETTLEMENTS VIIa, VIIb AND VIII. Volume IV, Part 1: TEXT; Part 2: PLATES. By *Carl W. Blegen, Cedric G. Boulter, John L. Caskey, and Marion Rawson*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press for the University of Cincinnati. 1958. Pp. xxvi, 328; xxviii, 380 plates. \$36.00 the set.)

THIS volume is the fourth and last of the definitive publications of the excavations that the University of Cincinnati made at Hisarlik, the ancient Troy. The expedition, under the leadership of Carl Blegen, sought to confirm and unravel the work of Schliemann and Dörpfeld in the light of modern methods of excavation.

The three previous volumes have described the finds and sequence of the first six settlements from Neolithic through the Bronze Age, and in the concluding volume settlements VII–VIII tell the story of the last occupation in the Late Bronze and Iron Age. Excluded, however, are the latest Hellenistic and Roman building and sanctuaries; these are reserved for separate monographs.

In this volume, VIIa comprises the last phase of the Bronze Age and is culturally a continuation of VI, which was destroyed by earthquake. VIIa shows every sign of ravages from fire, and in several places skeletons were found in the ruins as if struck down by violence. The small, closely packed houses and the *pithoi* stored in the floors are perhaps an indication of crowded conditions prior to a siege; VIIa is characterized by late IIIA and IIIB Mycenaean pottery together with a few Cypriot sherds. Tan ware is a new feature and local imitations of Mycenaean IIIB, but there is no IIIC. So it may well be that this is the level destroyed in the Trojan wars, which confirms its identification as the city of Priam and Homer. Following Furumark's dating, the end of VIIa should be around 1230 B.C. This is too early for Eratosthenes' date for the fall of Troy, but

it is not far from the computation of Herodotus, or the calculation preserved on the Parian marble.

The fortress of Troy seems to have been reoccupied almost immediately in VIIb after its destruction. Owing to later buildings it is not clear whether the walls were repaired or rebuilt, but at least one gate was not reused, for a house was built over the debris. Such houses as could be recovered were larger and more rambling than those of VIIa, and the whole mound appears to have been occupied.

Two phases could be distinguished by pottery types, the first VIIa 1 continued the use of tan wares but Mycenaean IIIC types were characteristic. In the second VIIb 2, granary class types and a local *Buckelkeramik* or knobbed ware denote a new sphere of influence in the city. None of the objects were of assistance in dating; but according to evidence of pottery types the city ceased to be inhabited about 1100 B.C., and remained unoccupied until about 700 B.C.

The remains of settlement VIII were scanty, much disturbed by the Roman remains of Level IX, whose foundations had intruded deeply into the level and in places had cut it away altogether.

Breaches had been repaired in the wall, and some house walls were attributed to this period, but the principal structures were two sanctuaries. In another area, a small house was uncovered, over which miniature stone-paved circles for drying grapes or grain had been laid at a later period. The sanctuaries were built outside the walls of Troy VI and consisted of small enclosures surrounding the podia of successive altars, extending into the Hellenistic period. The altars consisted of stone-faced structures filled with the remains of ash, burnt bone, and sherds. The finds were not numerous, but the range of sherds is largely of East Greek origin with sufficient Attic and Corinthian material to furnish a date not earlier than 700 B.C. for the beginning of the sanctuary. Some local fabrics and variations of geometric are not widely known elsewhere.

An interesting find was the "place of burning," outside the citadel walls, which yielded an extensive deposit of human and animal bones with a great quantity of broken pottery. This accumulation, which began in Troy VI, continued in use throughout Troy VIII.

These fine volumes are a fitting conclusion to the work that has been done over the past century in uncovering the story of Troy. The clear and meticulous reporting and good illustrations leave us with the most complete picture modern excavation can yield.

Institute of Archaeology, University of London

JOAN DU PLAT TAYLOR

FOREIGN CLIENTELAE (264-70 B.C.). By *E. Badian*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 342. \$8.00.)

DR. Badian delves more deeply into the history of the later Roman republic than his title would indicate. His interpretations not only of Rome's foreign

policy and internal politics but also of many matters of detail should be weighed by any scholar concerned with the period. His argument falls into two main sections. In the first, Badian proposes that during Rome's expansion overseas from 264 to 133 B.C., she applied to her relations with foreign powers a concept of freedom with dependence that was not newly arrived at from her increasing familiarity with Hellenistic politics but that reflected her native concept of the dependence of the free client on a patron, a concept already applied to her Italian allies. The moral obligation that a city or kingdom left free by Rome should remain loyal to her interests was difficult for the Greeks to grasp, and their failure to do so led to Rome's ever more direct and brutal interference into their affairs.

For the second period, from 133 to 70 B.C., Badian pays particular attention to the use of the client relation as an instrument of political power. The governing aristocracy had long counted on political support from their clients in the Roman state, plebeians or freedmen, and continued to expect this support from the Italians and provincials. Their failure to pay heed to the Italians' demand for reasonable equality, represented by citizenship, finally forced the Italians to abandon their loyalty as clients for open revolt in 90 B.C. When the aristocracy responded with the immediate extension of citizenship to all Italians, these adopted again their previous loyalty to the state and its great families. In the meantime, however, Marius had found that a "new man" could build a political machine to rival that of the old families by using the personal devotion of his citizen troops, whether actively in service or settled in veteran colonies. He failed to use this new weapon against the aristocracy which he wished to join, and Sulla used it only to seek to strengthen that aristocracy. Pompey carried the Marian device further by the cultivation of client support and the extension of citizenship among provincials. Badian concludes his study with Pompey's successful use of this support to assert himself against both Sulla and the traditions of aristocratic government. He indicates, however, that Pompey, like Marius, drew back from the ultimate logic of his position and that it remained for Caesar to use this new and irresistible political instrument to sweep away old forms and prepare for the new.

Badian develops the studies of Münzer, Gelzer, Scullard, Syme, and Miss Taylor, to mention only a few. His is a "behind the scenes" analysis of personalities, political and family alignments, and motivations. A cynical picture emerges of Roman political behavior. Gone from Rome's treatment of Greece is philhellenism; there remains only a selfish balance between avoidance of direct responsibility and desire to have her way. Thus Rome's harsh foreign policy after 167 B.C. is not a change but simply an accentuation of what had been characteristic and traditional. Equally, the politics of the "Roman Revolution" are, as Ronald Syme envisaged them, only the interplay of the selfishnesses of individuals and cliques. There remains no suggestion of patriotism or public spirit, even in Tiberius Gracchus or the Drusi. Historians reared in this century

of disillusion see the past through less rosy spectacles than did the idealistic liberals of the last century. But does "realistic" political history come nearer the truth?

Harvard University

MASON HAMMOND

UN CONCURRENT DU CHRISTIANISME: LE CULTE DES SOUVERAINS DANS LA CIVILISATION GRÉCO-ROMAINE. By *L. Cerfaux* and *J. Tondriaux*. [Bibliothèque de Théologie, Série III, Volume 5.] (Paris: Desclée & Co. 1957. Pp. 535.)

No religio-political institution of ancient civilizations is more difficult for modern students, the products of a monotheistic cultural tradition, to evaluate properly than the deification or offering of divine honors to human rulers. Consequently it is not surprising to find that outstanding modern scholars advance a wide variety of interpretations regarding its origin and significance. In view of this diversity we welcome a comprehensive and at the same time very detailed treatment of the whole question by two authors of established reputations; one in the field of the pagan ruler cults, the other in contemporary aspects of Judaism and Christianity.

Since it is the Hellenistic-Roman ruler cult that came into conflict with Christianity, the authors focus their attention upon this, and devote only a brief preliminary chapter to its forerunners in the Near East. Fully aware of the difficulties of their subject because of inadequate evidence on main points—particularly the psychological aspects of this phenomenon—they make no claim to finality for their conclusions. Instead, they discuss all of the reported manifestations of the ruler cult, trace the main lines of its chronological and ideological evolution, and provide points of departure for further investigation. Emphasizing the great variety of forms and the manifold gradations of deification, they try in so far as possible to treat each case in its own environment and so have allocated separate chapters to pre-Hellenistic Greece, the Macedonian era, Ptolemaic Egypt, the Seleucid Kingdom, the minor Hellenistic states, Republican Rome, and the Roman Empire. In the latter chapter, after a chronological discussion of the individual emperors, they devote special sections to late philosophical ideas on the ruler cult, the cult in the army, the relation of the imperial cult to the Jews and to the Christians. The final chapter treats the significance and scope of the cult, giving a summary of its development and contrasting its form and its ideology with those of its monotheistic contemporaries. A detailed bibliography precedes the text; annexes, indexes, a bibliographic supplement, and a table of contents conclude the volume.

A work of outstanding scholarship, well-organized, lucidly written, and keenly analytical, this study will long remain the basic introduction to its subject. Some historians may not agree fully with all of its conclusions—for example,

those on the form of Alexander the Great's deification, or that of Julius Caesar or of Diocletian, or the early paganism of Constantine the Great—but they will respect and applaud the thoroughness of the authors' research and their intellectual integrity.

University of Michigan

A. E. R. BOAK

LATE ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL POPULATION. By *J. C. Russell*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume XLVIII, Part 3.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1958. Pp. 152. \$4.00.)

IN his article "Demographic Pattern in History" (*Population Studies*, I [March, 1948] Professor Russell described his approach to the population problems of the late Roman Empire and the Middle Ages. "The demographer," he wrote, "has, for the most part, to use data secured for purposes of taxation. The figures thus obtained must be corrected for omitted areas, exempt classes of persons and other inadequacies. Even then one has frequently only the number of houses or of heads of families, which must be multiplied by some appropriate number to secure an estimate of the total population. Once this is achieved for a large area at a definite time, the trends of total population may be estimated by a sampling process using fragmentary data of other periods. The process is interesting but taxes our ingenuity." This work before us is a display of extraordinary ingenuity and patience, in which the data from taxation is supplemented from other sources, including archaeological. If, for instance, from the remains of medieval walls "the area of cities can be shown to bear a direct relationship to their population, and their population, in turn, bears a direct relationship to the countries and districts of which they are centers, a vast amount of information is available." Calculating those relationships requires considerable ingenuity.

Behind this approach is the author's assumption that man is by nature so highly gregarious that population developments will conform to patterns determinable statistically, and "that peoples of similar conditions, social, political and economical, will have much the same demographic pattern unless there are serious disturbances or disasters of health or environment."

In large measure this study surveys and attempts to synthesize, and, by use of the author's formulae, to interpret and to generalize from a large number of studies of local population problems and estimates, making, where necessary, allowance for the fact that "the figures seem to have been prepared by honest scholars with strong local connections." This required 152 statistical tables of varying length and complexity. Much of the study is a commentary on these figures and an attempt to formulate demographic hypotheses from them. Readers of Russell's *British Medieval Population* will be familiar with some of his methods. Where possible he uses the British pattern as a measuring rod. But outside England he is dealing with data of a much less satisfactory character. This

fact he persistently recognizes, and the extent to which conclusions are indicated as guesses, substantiated as far as possible by reasoned discussion of the data, is repeatedly emphasized. The tendency is to offer totals smaller than those of other scholars, partly from belief that five is too high a figure for the family average, and partly from calculations based on the extent of urban areas.

One basic conclusion is that in the period studied, stability of population in relation to subsistence was deliberately maintained by delayed marriage and by the practice of abortion, infanticide, and exposure. This is contrasted, by implication unfavorably, with modern tendencies to encourage population increase without consideration for adequate subsistence.

Williamstown, Massachusetts

RICHARD A. NEWHALL

THE NORTHERN SEAS: SHIPPING AND COMMERCE IN NORTHERN EUROPE A.D. 300-1100. By *Archibald R. Lewis*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 498. \$9.00.)

THAT Professor Lewis has produced a net scholarly gain should be apparent from his maps alone. There are five maps all told, showing trade routes in Northern Europe for the years A.D. 300, 650, 820, 985, and 1100. The respective chapters of his work provide the respective substantiations for these maps. In these chapters he not only has covered the available documentary material, meager as it is, but he also has digested a vast lore of archaeological and numismatic data. This painstaking and meticulous research lying behind each map is suggestive of the kind of effort one notes in some of the map monographs in certain continental historical journals, particularly the Dutch, or in some of the European city-planning journals and studies. It is an effort all too foreign to American scholars. American historians should long since have done as Lewis has done and noted the great epitomizing value of maps. These maps tell very pointedly and quickly his story, which is the development by 1100 of a trading system centering in the Northern Seas (Bay of Biscay, the Irish Sea, the English Channel, the North Sea, and the Baltic) in contrast to that of the Romans, which was Mediterranean centered.

Though trade routes and their shiftings are his most obvious concern, the author does not fail to give the same careful and exhaustive treatment to other aspects of his topic, e.g., methods of transport and commodities transported. The running discussion on ships and changing ship types is particularly interesting and informative. Related subjects, e.g., production methods and governmental policies and developments, are observed but are accorded their proper role and are never allowed to encroach on the discussion of the essential concerns of the writer. Within his general frame of reference, the five basic periods with which he is concerned, a fine and balanced perspective is always maintained. Certain detailed delineations of the commercial aspects of such pivotal reigns as those of Charlemagne, Alfred, Otto I, and Canute give summary and accent to this

effort. Only at times does he slip into an interim and unnecessary chronology, which proves chafing but never confusing.

The sweep of this work causes one to ponder as to whether the author might not have accomplished his object by narrowing his aim; for example, to the North Sea or the Baltic. He answers this question himself: "It is to be hoped that to combine, integrate and re-examine the history of the Northern Seas during these centuries will stimulate and provoke further investigation and hypothesis." It is to be hoped that he and his students will follow through with a number of particular monographs. An admirable groundwork for such a superstructure is available in this work.

College of San Mateo

JAMES W. DILLEY

STUDIEN ZU DEN ANFÄNGEN DES EUROPÄISCHEN STÄDTEWES-
ENS: REICHENAU-VORTRÄGE, 1955-1956. Edited by *Theodor Mayer*.
[Vorträge und Forschungen, Herausgegeben vom Institut für geschichtliche
Landesforschung des Bodenseegebietes in Konstanz, Band IV.] (Konstanz:
Jan Thorbecke Verlag. 1958. Pp. 553. DM 42.50.)

THIS volume of sixteen essays examines with scholarly depth the formative years of European towns between the fall of the Western Roman Empire and the High Middle Ages. It opens with a study of towns in the Roman Empire and closes with one concerning urban centers in Eastern Europe. In general, emphasis is placed on town development in northern France, the Netherlands, Germany, and Austria, since ten of the contributions deal with these areas. The editor also includes, however, a valuable study of Istria, another concerning Spain and southwestern France and two on the Baltic.

Though the serious scholar will find that these studies vary in value, in their totality they form a remarkable volume. In the first place they often sum up the recent literature that has appeared concerning the areas with which they deal—much of which is scattered and unknown to most of us. Second, they are concerned with the problem of urban continuity from Roman times to the later medieval period in the areas discussed. Third, they incorporate much valuable information coming from town plans and archaeology toward an understanding of the origins of European urbanism. Fourth, they seem scholarly and tentative in tone. And finally, by viewing the formative period of European urbanism over a wide area of the Continent, they avoid the pitfall of generalizations based on special areas and limited periods of time.

The net effect of this volume is to give one a very different view of developing European urbanism than that often held by medievalists. It reveals, for instance, a surprising degree of continuity for Roman towns in northern Gaul, southern Belgium, the Rhinelands, and Austria, with the late fifth and early sixth centuries representing the only real break in their existence. It shows, on the other hand, that for southern Gaul and northern Spain such a break dates from

the early eighth century, at the time of the Moorish invasions and the Carolingian reaction to them. Herbert Jankuhn's study in particular reveals a precocious urbanism at certain places beyond the Rhine—in the Netherlands and the Baltic—in Merovingian times which then increased in scope throughout the Carolingian and Ottonian eras. For Germany proper, however—beyond the Rhine and in Eastern Europe—urbanism appeared later, in the last years of the Carolingians, though it then increased in scope throughout the tenth century and afterward. No single area of Europe, then, had the same early urban history.

Perhaps the most important single study is that of Jankuhn concerning the growth of ports along the shores of the North Sea and in the Baltic. Its use of archaeological and numismatic materials is superb. That of Hector Amman on western Gaul and Spain is probably the least rewarding, for reasons largely beyond the author's control—namely the lack of monographic studies of towns in these regions—a fact that emphasizes the amount of work needed in using the abundant cartulary materials of these areas.

It is obviously unfair in a collection of studies of this type to ask for more than has been provided. But one might well wish that this volume had been rounded out by an examination, based on the latest scholarly contributions, of urbanism in Britain and Ireland. As it is, Tait's *Medieval English Borough*, though out of date, needs to be added to this book to give the fuller all-European view for England, as does Jean Young's "A Note on the Norse Occupation of Ireland" for the Emerald Isle. Similarly, Jankuhn's admirable study of the Baltic neglects aspects of the native Scandinavian contribution to urbanism in this area and should be supplemented by Musset's *Les Peuples Scandinaves au Moyen Âge* and other studies.

Ludat's view of Russian urbanism is also incomplete and neglects recent Soviet archaeological discoveries that carry the story of Russia's urban *grody* back to the last years of the seventh century—particularly in regard to Smolensk, Old Ladoga, and Rostov. We are also surprised throughout that the authors of these studies, with some exceptions, have not made more use of abundant coin hoard materials available.

Such lacunae, however, are all but unavoidable in a work of this sort and do not detract from the fact that this volume represents the best work yet produced on early European urbanism. Further work on this subject will have to begin with this volume.

University of Texas

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

TRAITÉ D'ÉTUDES BYZANTINES. Volume I, LA CHRONOLOGIE. By V. Grumel. [Bibliothèque Byzantine.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1958. Pp. xii, 487. 4,000 fr.)

IN the preface to this stout quarto volume, Father Grumel explains the purpose of his book: not to present a revision of de Muralt's historical encyclopedia

of the Byzantine Empire, but to study the methods of dating events used in the Byzantine sources. The work consists of three parts. The first deals with the evolution of world eras, i.e., those eras counted since the creation of the world. Of basic importance was the lunar cycle of nineteen years established in the second part of the third century by Anatolius Bishop of Laodicea and coupled with a world era beginning in 5501 B.C. All other world eras used in the Byzantine sources are refinements upon Anatolius' great enterprise. Especially original are the author's discussions of the "proto-Byzantine era" (which he discovers in the *Paschal Chronicle*), of Panodorus of Alexandria's computations, and of the chronological reforms introduced under Justinian.

The first part, thus, reconstructs a fascinating chapter in the intellectual history of late antiquity and the Middle Ages. The second part of the book, which is more practical, is devoted to the various means of measuring time. It explains in detail the local and regional calendars, the cycles or periods of years, both natural (solar, lunar, etc.) and conventional. Here the most original—indeed a fascinating—section is concerned with the Byzantine indiction. Grumel argues, in my opinion convincingly, that the first indiction of fifteen years which began in 312 and is commonly attributed to Constantine, was in fact the work of Licinius; that within this cycle the year began originally not on September 1 but on September 23, birthday of Augustus; and that only in 462 was the beginning of the cycle (and of the years within the cycle) transferred to September 1.

The third part of the work (about 240 quarto pages) is taken up by chronological tables designed to aid the historian in dating events mentioned in his sources. Whether he wishes to translate a date from one of the world eras or local eras into the common era or any other, find the date of Easter for a given year, the Western equivalent for a date reckoned from the Hegirah or according to the Egyptian or Armenian calendar, it can easily be done with the help of these tables. There are tables giving the dates of the mobile feasts in the liturgical calendar, a list of saints with the date of their commemoration, liturgical calendars for the Byzantine, Latin, Armenian, Coptic, Jacobite, and Nestorian churches. There are historical tables with lists of consuls, of Roman and Byzantine emperors, genealogies of ruling houses, lists of praetorian prefects, greater and lesser potentates of the Arab, Turkish, Mongol, Slavic, Latin worlds, and periods down to small principalities. There are lists of popes and patriarchs (Greek, Latin, Coptic, etc.) as well as lists of councils. Finally there are tables of eclipses, comets, and earthquakes. For all these tables (and there are many more) Grumel has used the most recent data of scholarship and is careful in giving bibliographical references. Where tested they seemed reliable. With these tables Grumel has created a practical, unique, and indispensable tool for which all historians working in the late ancient or medieval periods will be grateful.

The tables, alas, will be used by many who will not read the first (or even the second) part of the book. On the whole they are arranged conveniently even for the occasional user, yet improvements may be suggested for a second edition.

Many prospective users will consult Grumel's book for information on the chronological system used by a particular author. Such users will find the list of authors on page 231 invaluable, but at present it is hidden where no casual user would expect it. In the first part of the work the author uses many technical terms of astronomy or chronology (*epactae lunares*, *saltus lunae*, Dionysian era, etc.) which are explained more fully in the second. They are notoriously difficult for most historians, as are some aspects of the religious calendar. These should be explained in leisurely fashion at the beginning of the book. At least, the passages where they are introduced in the present text should be made accessible by special indexes and cross references. The detailed table of contents is aside from this a fairly satisfactory substitute for a general index.

University of Michigan

PAUL J. ALEXANDER

THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD-CONQUEROR. Volumes I and II. By 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini. Translated from the text of Mirza Muhammad Qazvini by John Andrew Boyle. [UNESCO Collection of Representative Works, Persian Series.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xlv, 361; vi, 362-763. \$12.50 the set.)

THIS work is a first-class contribution to the study of a neglected period of Asian history. The basic and most reliable contemporary history of the thirteenth-century Mongols, Juvaini's account has until now been available only to readers of Persian. Rashid al-Din's history, though later and for much of the thirteenth century dependent upon Juvaini, has dominated Western historiography since it was edited and translated into French by E. Quatremère as early as 1836 (*Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*).

Dr. Boyle's translation is eminently satisfactory. That Professor Minorsky has checked the whole in accordance with UNESCO's requirements is enough to give assurance on this score. The text used is the best, published definitively by Mirza Muhammad Qazvini in the Gibb Memorial Series (Old Series, XVI/1, 2, 3), and completed in 1937. One is glad to note that most of the documentary apparatus and commentary of that great Persian scholar is included in the footnotes.

The format of the presentation is admirable. All quotations from original Arabic are italicized, those from the Koran identified, fortunately at the bottom of the page. Poetry quoted is not attempted in verse translation, but printed to indicate the lines of the original. Authors are identified in most cases, presumably whenever possible. Chapter headings of the original are followed, and the pagination of Qazvini's text is given for anyone wishing to check the translation. Margins are modest but ample, and the total effect produced by the printers useful and pleasing.

The general reader will probably rejoice that the transliteration of Oriental words omits diacritical marks and uses familiar Anglicized forms of commoner

terms and place names. This must influence the use of Mohammed for the Prophet, whereas Muhammad is used for all other bearers of the name, which strikes the specialist as rather odd. For the specialist the notes contain Latinized consonantal transcriptions of important terms and proper names, often with detailed and helpful notes, especially where questions of scholarship are involved. Mongol spellings follow the late Professor Pelliot, while for Chinese the Wade-Giles transcription system is used.

Belonging to one of the old and distinguished families of Muslim Iran, Juvaini followed his father into Mongol service when he was twenty-two. His brother, Shams al-Din, was long grand vazir and *sahib-divan* for Hülegü and his successors. He himself traveled widely throughout the empire. It was when he was on an extended stay at Qara-Qorum in 1252-1253 that friends persuaded him to commence his history of the conquests. He was with Hülegü when the assassin stronghold of Alamut was reduced; this episode closes his history. The next year Baghdad and the Caliph were captured and the following year Juvaini became governor of Baghdad, which post he continued to hold, with some interruptions, for over twenty years. Juvaini was a man of taste and style; he could write simply and directly when vivid personal experience demanded, but also with all the flourishes and tricks of the traditional rhetoric of his age.

This result of author, editor, and translator is a fascinating and first-hand account of one of the dramatic periods of Asian history, a major contribution to our historiography that merits reading by both scholar and student.

Princeton, New Jersey

T. CUYLER YOUNG

Modern European History

A HISTORY OF TECHNOLOGY. Volume IV, THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, C. 1750-C. 1850. By *Charles Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall, and Trevor I. Williams*. Assisted by *Y. Peel, J. R. Petty, and M. Reeve*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xxxiii, 728, 48 plates. \$26.90, £8 8s.)

To the above publishing details let me add "Thirty contributors and Twenty-three chapters; 359 text figures; a triple index—names, places, and subjects; a binding of characteristic Oxford University Press dark blue with lavish gilt lettering; weight (rough guess) six or seven pounds." Thus this latest installment of a magnum opus maintains the organization and format of its three predecessors. The pace of publication—four books in five years—is probably unique for a cooperative scholarly enterprise; remarks in the preface hint that the final volume may appear quite soon. The whole venture was made possible by an "endowment" from Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd., the British Commonwealth's counterpart to Dupont. Rarely has a business firm (or a foundation) had cause to be so satisfied that its money is being well spent.

The central aim of the series is to produce "a history of how things have been done or made." For the period covered in Volume IV—from about 1750 to about 1850—the task is as colossal and complicated as it is important; important because "man's relationship to natural resources became utterly changed," because "profound economic and social changes . . . resulted from this tremendous technological progress," and because "the whole pattern of civilization" was deeply affected, first in Britain, then in continental Europe and North America, and ultimately in much of the rest of the world. The editors are well aware of all these things, and promise to give us some discussion of them in the final volume. But for the time being they follow their technological guiding thread, or rather their two threads: first, the actual technological changes—what Professor Ashton's schoolboy called "the wave of gadgets" that swept over all branches of production and transportation; and second, the advance of scientific knowledge and its increasingly effective application, whether to solve some old problems or to evolve new processes and products. The intertwining of these two threads is traced in many chapters. It is given general consideration in the final chapter, "The Beginning of the Change from Craft Mystery to Science as a Basis for Technology," which winds up with a discussion of the technological significance of the first and second laws of thermodynamics.

The book is divided into five parts. Part I, nearly a quarter of the total pages, deals with "Primary Production." To most of us the most readable and useful section will probably be G. E. Fussell's comprehensive and well-focused account of European farming techniques; but the stories of mining and metallurgy are well told and illustrated, while the brief chapter on "Fish Preservation and Whaling" is a tasty morsel. Part II, "Forms of Energy," begins with a general and rather diffuse survey of all forms of power, followed by a concise, clear account of the steam engine and a fascinating picture of water wheels since 1500, with a flashback to Roman times. Part III devotes a third of the book to "Manufacture," cuts the textile machines down to better proportion than is usual, thereby making room for adequate treatment of developments in chemical theory, practice, production, and use; of "precision mechanics" and machine tools; of ceramics and glassmaking, in two of the most delightful chapters in the book. Part IV, called "Static Engineering," opens up new territory to most of us, tracing the development of civil engineering, architecture, building materials and methods, water supplies, and the history of sewers from Knossos and the *cloaca maxima* to modern Paris and London. Part V occupies a fifth of the work and deals with "Communications." Its treatment of roads is good; that of developments in map making is superb, as is the detailed story of the telegraph. The chapter on ship-building, however, is thin and scrappy. Part VI contains the survey of the shift from craft mystery to science referred to in the preceding paragraph.

One puts the book aside with some telling sentences fastened in the mind, as, for example: "The chemical industry is the most polygamous of all industries";

with a new awareness of the basic contributions made to science, equipment, and transportation by Frenchmen, or to precision and machine-tool making by a small motley group of young men who gravitated from Welsh or Yorkshire farms, from Edinburgh, Lancashire, and other places to London, where they fell under the inventive stimulus of Bramah and Maudslay, then often went back to the provinces to make the machines that made the machines that worked more efficiently in making consumers' or capital goods. But the outstanding effect of the volume is its reminder of the really immense and many-sided technological achievements of the period. In arguing about what the Industrial Revolution was or was not, or when it was or was not, or what its effects were or were not, we have been tending to forget much of the story. This volume is a needed refresher course. It answers some of the questions under debate and puts the whole debate into better perspective. It should be examined by anyone who deals with that disruptive yet productive hundred years. Few individuals are likely to buy it, but all should look at it. If the text bores or puzzles, at least the pictures are delightful.

Pennsylvania State University

HERBERT HEATON

PIONEERS OF POPULAR EDUCATION, 1760-1850. By *Hugh M. Pollard*.

(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 297. \$5.50.)

THE ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOL. By *Vivian Ogilvie*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1957. Pp. xii, 228. \$6.00.)

WRITINGS on educational history have all too often tended to ignore international educational relationships or at best only to glance at them. It is, therefore, good to find a new work that highlights such influences. Pollard is concerned, first of all, with the impact of socio-economic-political forces on the expansion of public education in continental Europe from the French Revolution period until the mid-nineteenth century. Not only does he treat the well-known educators, such as Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, but he calls attention to lesser-known figures, e.g., Père Jean-Baptiste Girard and Johann Wehrli of Switzerland, and Guillaume Wilhelm of France. These pedagogues "represent the main sources whence Britain and, in particular, England gained inspiration for the training of her own youth during the first half of the nineteenth century."

The first half of the book analyzes this "repository of educational wisdom on the Continent," while the remainder shows how the Swiss, Dutch, and Prussian educators, through the Englishmen they influenced, helped awaken Britain to "make an effort to lever herself out of the slough of intellectual inertia into which she had sunk." Pollard, who is assistant to the director of the University of Sheffield Institute of Education, traces in detail the introduction of Pestalozzianism and other continental educational practices into Britain. Yet he does not neglect

to indicate the influence of the Bell-Lancaster monitorial school on the Continent.

There is considerable emphasis on the labors of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, "the one person who successfully gathered together these various threads of foreign influence and, by some mysterious process, wove them into the very fabric of British primary education." The process is described on the basis of both manuscript and printed primary sources. Pollard should be praised for using primary and secondary materials in French, German, Danish, Norwegian, and Dutch all through the first half of his book.

Occasionally the author simplifies matters, as in his brief account of Pestalozzi's relations to France, and commits a slip, as in his reference to the "Emperor Alexander of Austria." He might have mentioned also that the monitorial system spread to the United States and Latin America. The index might have been more detailed. But these are small matters. The book is a worthwhile contribution to international educational history and should serve as a useful source of enlightenment on the migration of educational ideas and practices. Scholars will also want to consult the recent monograph "German Influence upon Education and Science, 1800-1866," by George Haines IV (New London, Conn., 1957).

Ogilvie's book is an interestingly written, liberally illustrated account of the development of "the most celebrated contribution the English have made to educational practice" from the founding of Winchester College in 1382 to the present. According to a definition by R. A. Butler in 1942, a public school is a school belonging either to the Governing Boards' Association or to the Headmasters' Conference. Institutions in the latter category received some aid from the Local Educational Authority. The 218 schools in both groups, of course, vary in quality and in the characteristics that have made the Nine Great Public Schools (Eton, Harrow, etc.), and several others, quite famous. As Ogilvie, a former schoolmaster now broadcasting for the BBC, sees it, the public school is mainly characterized by the following features: a class school; a nonlocal, boarding institution; expensiveness; independence of the state and of the local authority, yet "not privately owned or run for profit."

There is much information of value to the general reader who will not let the listing of public schools by founding dates deter him. The more scholarly reader will miss the disciplinary activities of Richard Busby at Westminster, the international influence of Christ's Hospital and Harrow, and the significance of Cecil Reddie of Abbotsholme and J. H. Badley of Bedales for British and foreign education. There are some loose statements and virtually no footnotes. Ogilvie mentions twice a report on British schools by a German pastor, C. P. Moritz, in 1782, but this document appears neither in a footnote nor in the two-page bibliography. Very little is said of the recent criticisms of the public school. Fortunately, the author makes light of the traditional *lucus-a-non-lucendo* definition of the English public school.

The student of history will probably turn to Edward C. Mack's two studies

on the history of the public schools and even to the older volume by Ackermann, as well as to the histories of the individual schools.

New York University

WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN

THE EUROPEAN POWERS AND THE GERMAN QUESTION, 1848-71,
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ENGLAND AND RUSSIA. By W. E.
Mosse. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 409. \$9.50.)

MR. Mosse has been modest in the choice of a title for his book, for what he has written is much more than an account of the attitude of the great powers toward the German question. It is rather a first-rate, expert examination of European diplomacy around the middle of the nineteenth century. Every major international problem is considered: Schleswig-Holstein, the Crimean War, the unification of Italy, the Polish revolution, the Danubian principalities, and the Near East, as well as the struggle for supremacy in Germany. If developments in Central Europe occupy the center of the stage, as they properly should, they are never allowed to obscure the multiplicity of interests determining governmental policy. The work is based, moreover, on an extensive knowledge of archival materials unavailable to or ignored by earlier writers. Among them are the documents of the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle, the Public Record Office in London, the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, and the minor courts of Germany. All in all, here is the most authoritative treatment of the diplomatic realignment of the Continent between the Revolution of 1848 and the Franco-Prussian War.

The conclusions are not startlingly new, but they are buttressed by evidence that is irrefutable. Mosse demolishes once and for all the never very robust thesis that the unification of Germany was achieved in the face of a uniformly jealous and hostile Europe. As a matter of fact, the wonder is that the great powers showed themselves so acquiescent toward the expansion of Prussia. The universal distrust of Napoleon III played into the hands of Bismark, and the latter was able to effect a fundamental alteration in the European balance of power against surprisingly weak opposition. Once Russia was defeated in the Crimea, only a close collaboration between London and Paris might have prevented the destruction of the German Confederation. Drouyn de Lhuys was essentially right when he observed to Cowley that "there was but one alliance worth anything—an alliance between France and England . . . together they could govern the world." But the prospect of a united Germany was not displeasing to British statesmen frightened by the Napoleonic bugaboo. After 1863 the uneasy entente between the two western governments dissolved, and the way was open for the policy of blood and iron that ushered in a half century of German hegemony in Europe.

University of Wisconsin

THEODORE S. HAMEROW

DAS MÜNCHENER ABKOMMEN 1938. By Boris Celovsky. [Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, Band 3, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1958. Pp. 518.)

BORIS Celovsky, who was a student in a technical gymnasium in Oderberg in September, 1938, has written a critical and competent volume on the Munich crisis. He has explored virtually all available data, and his documentation is rich and valuable. The book, which runs to nearly five hundred pages, is a substantial contribution to the history of the Munich period.

Convinced that the German-Czech crisis was one of the crucial and decisive events of the twentieth century, Celovsky proceeds accordingly. He gives a survey of the history of Europe from 1919 to 1938, analyzes in detail the motives, policies, and diplomatic maneuvers of the powers that participated in the Munich conference, and follows carefully the threads that led to Washington, Moscow, and the capitals of Central and Eastern Europe. The opening chapters are highly interpretative and, in the reviewer's opinion, not always sound. The real contribution is in the section of the book dealing with the Munich conference and its immediate background.

Here, briefly, are some of the conclusions at which the author arrives: The settlement of 1919 set the stage for a struggle between the defeated and the victorious powers. In the ensuing struggle, the revisionist powers had a great advantage over the defenders of the *status quo* because revisionism always looks to the future and is by nature dynamic. National Socialism was the first significant expression of this dynamism. Making full use of the harsh peace, Adolf Hitler blended the principle of the self-determination of peoples and the old German concept of continental imperialism into a unity. Thus armored, and exploiting to the limit Europe's fear of Bolshevism, the German *Führer* operated brilliantly and in 1938 was ready to move across Central and Eastern Europe. Although he was preaching self-determination and a crusade against Bolshevism, deep in his being was a desire "to humble, to punish, to destroy, and to conquer."

Celovsky feels that nearly everything now depended upon Great Britain. Unfortunately, however, the British people had placed their destinies in the hands of Neville Chamberlain, who had no understanding of National Socialism and who was sadly lacking in most of the qualities essential to statesmanship. Frightened by the thought of Bolshevism and believing in the possibility of an understanding with Germany, Chamberlain resorted to a policy of all-out appeasement. This sealed the fate of Czechoslovakia because Hitler could now set the Czech problem within the frame of his general strategy.

The months of the crisis proper are unfolded in rather rich detail. Although Germany and England—Hitler and Chamberlain—are at the center of the conflict, the author does his best to disclose the attitudes and policies of all the powers that were in any way concerned with the crisis. He sees the Czech mobilization

of May 20 as a desperate attempt on the part of the Czech leaders to alert the West and to compel Chamberlain to take a strong stand. He believes that President Roosevelt would have spoken out more energetically if Chamberlain had not discouraged him, and that Russia, mindful of her own ends, probably stood ready to join Britain and France in a war against Germany.

All in all, this is an able and provocative study of one of the most complex and controversial segments of recent history. But the author is prone to criticize and to interpret broadly, and most readers will doubtless find many arguable points with which to take issue, especially in the first four chapters.

University of North Carolina

CARL HAMILTON PEGG

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1939-1946: THE EVE OF WAR, 1939. Edited by *Arnold Toynbee* and *Veronica M. Toynbee*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xvi, 744. \$14.40.)

THIS volume, originally scheduled to appear as the immediate sequel to *The World in March 1939*, appears after the lapse of some five years with a solid basis of official documents on British and German foreign policy that were not available earlier. The nine coauthors of this scholarly and comprehensive book give a well-organized, detailed account of the fateful five and one-half months between Hitler's entry into Prague and the German invasion of Poland. Professor Toynbee presents a stimulating introduction on Hitler's opportunity in 1939 for successful aggression and on the French and British reactions to the destruction of Czechoslovakia. He makes many astute points on the weaknesses of the small European countries and of France, England, and Soviet Russia. But his analysis does not do full justice to the complexity of the situation in Central Europe or to the long-range defense policy of Britain. Viscount Chilton's chapter on rearmament in Britain and France between the Munich crisis and the outbreak of war corrects some of the omissions and errors in Toynbee's essay.

Mrs. Toynbee gives an incisive account of France and England's attempts to organize resistance to further German and Italian aggression by the Central and Southeastern European powers and Turkey between March 15 and August 23-24, 1939, when the signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact doomed all the Western powers' efforts to avert war with, and further appeasement of, the Axis powers. In my judgment, however, she overstates the importance of the peace feelers between the British and German governments made by Axel Wenner-Gren, Birger Dahlerus, and Helmut Wohlthat. Katherine Duff skillfully unravels the torturous and agonized diplomatic and military moves made by Mussolini and his advisers from Italy's annexation of Albania and conclusion of its unwise "Pact of Steel" with Germany in the spring of 1939 to Italy's attempts to strengthen its

position vis-à-vis the USSR, Spain, Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey. Mrs. M. Taylor and her collaborators are equally successful in analyzing the Nazi German diplomatic and military strategy and tactics during this period. Here the published studies on this subject by Sir Lewis Namier, *Europe in Decay*; William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason, *The Challenge to Isolation*; and F. H. Hinsley, *Hitler's Strategy* have anticipated most of the dramatic points on the evolution of the Nazi plans for war during this period, but the authors of the chapter in this volume have performed a valuable service, first in dissecting, then in presenting in compact form a mass of information on so important a series of events.

Few stories in fiction rival in surprise twists and turns the story told by Mr. Ashton-Gwatkin and Mrs. Toynbee of the unsuccessful Anglo-French attempt to conclude a mutual assistance pact with Russia from April to August, 1939, while Germany and Russia proceeded to agree to the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact and secret protocol of August 23-24, 1939. Some of the authors' conclusions on Soviet strategy in this matter might be modified in the light of Gerhard L. Weinberg's definitive analysis, *Germany and the Soviet Union 1939-1941*. The remainder of *The Eve of War* has the character of a Greek tragedy. P. E. Baker brings back to life "The Last Ten Days of Peace in Europe," Lady Howard reviews the reactions of the United States to the Axis invasions of Czechoslovakia, Albania, the Pacific, and Poland; F. C. Jones examines Japanese warfare against China, and Japanese relations with Soviet Russia, Germany, and Italy from 1936 to September, 1939. Howard's chapter confirms the findings of Langer and Gleason on the American people's sympathy with the victims of Axis aggression combined with a firm desire to stay out of the war. Jones bring out very well how the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact destroyed the whole basis of Japanese policy toward Europe and marked the beginning of a new phase in Japanese policy. The final chapter in *The Eve of War* is by Viscount Chilton, who gives an expert critique of British and French armaments and defense measures between September 30, 1938, and September 3, 1939. The facts he presents form a sad prelude to the next volume in this series: *The Initial Triumph of the Axis*.

Rutgers University

SIDNEY RATNER

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1939-1946: THE INITIAL TRIUMPH OF THE AXIS. Edited by *Arnold Toynbee* and *Veronica M. Toynbee*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xvii, 742. \$13.45.)

THE covers of this stout volume contain not one, but eight books. Each is a separate segment of the general topic under review—the events of the period from September, 1939, to December, 1941, which was the time of the initial triumph of the Axis. Each would have a reputable existence by itself. But by skillful edit-

ing that fits the parts together so well and brings the separate stories to contribute to one another, Arnold and Veronica Toynbee have made the collective narrative natural and historically valid.

The account of the period is introduced by a summary of the military, naval, and air operations. Then the four following segments tell of the partition of Northeastern Europe between Germany and the Soviet Union: the struggle in Western Europe down to the collapse of France, related country by country; the course of the war effort of Great Britain and the Commonwealth; and the subjugation by the Axis of Southeastern Europe. All these parts of the narrative tell of the expanding Axis conquest that was yet frustrated by the inability to subdue Great Britain or to induce her to accept the peace terms that Hitler proffered. The next part recounts the breach between Germany and the Soviet Union, which of course changed the whole dimensions of the war. Then comes a review of the response of the United States toward the war in Europe down to the final closing of the clasp of war; and the final section traces the complicated and calculating trail of purpose that determined the policy of Japan and that caused her to risk her fate in a hopeless war.

The volume, like its companion volumes in the series published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, is aptly called a survey. It admirably makes plain all the features and dimensions on the surface of this historical experience. Now and again it looks beneath, before, or beyond the flow of events, but only briefly and rather cursorily. All of the authors in this combined work know the written record of their subjects and make good use of it.

Each reader, of course, will have his own comment upon the multitudinous facts. General Cornwall's military narrative is clear and succinct, but it seems to me to tend to credit British war effort over that of others. Major Lane's account of the political background of the fall of France and Alfred Cobban's account of that actual event are both interesting and lucid explanations of the combinations of causes that entered into the complete French default. Arnold Toynbee's tale of the home front and the United Kingdom is distinguished by his lively and assertive writing. Elizabeth Wiskemann's description of the breach between Germany and the Soviet Union is comprehensive, and, despite being so matter of fact, absorbing. Her explanation of the reasons why Hitler attacked the Soviet Union while Britain was still unsubdued is disputable; perhaps not only disputable but wrong. Constance Howard's account of the American entry into the war will strike American readers, I think, as rather routine and derivative; and Jones's account of Japanese policy is quietly correct and nothing more.

In sum, this survey tells so reliably well what happened that it speeds the mind well on its way in the effort to understand why it happened.

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HERBERT FEIS

THE STRUGGLE TO UNITE EUROPE, 1940-1958. By *Arnold J. Zurcher*. (New York: New York University Press. 1958. Pp. xix, 254. \$5.00.)

THE postwar period, with its many positive efforts to create world institutions geographically commensurate with the areas of world economic and social problems, has made few direct inroads upon traditional concepts of sovereignty. Virtually the entire program toward creating cooperative instruments, including principally the United Nations system, has been premised upon the assumption that the prerogatives of the national state and the national approach to meeting larger than national problems must be preserved, even though thereby the solution of the problems is indefinitely delayed.

In Europe, by contrast, there has been a steady, concerted, and imaginative effort during the same postwar period to find means for achieving greater unity of action. This includes pressure on traditional concepts of national sovereignty and proposals for developing new centers of political authority.

The reasons for the difference in emphasis and the difference in rate of progress between the world-wide and the European organization system are, of course, many and not hard to find. Many of them are outlined in this book and are worthy of special reflection.

The author gives a concise and most useful summary of the European unity movement with a careful appraisal of its progress and the obstacles it continues to face. In one volume we now have the story of the highly important changes that have taken place in the thinking on European political institutions. The specific influences of Schuman, Spaak, Adenauer, Churchill, Bidault, Coudenhove-Kalergi, Hallstein, Reynnaud, Mayer, Monnet, Philip and General George Marshall are described and analyzed in detail. The progress made in creating the principal institutions is clearly set forth, as are the essential characteristics and differences among the new agencies: the Council of Europe, the attempted European Defense Community, the European Community for Coal and Steel, the European Economic Community, and the European Atomic Energy Community.

The author's principal contribution is in combining the political and intellectual history of the effort to unite Europe in a relatively short book, easily accessible to scholars and general readers. To some extent Zurcher has probed also into public opinion below the top leadership level. He touches incidentally upon some of the more theoretical writings, but his primary focus is upon effective leadership. However valuable it would be to have the texts of several European agreements, the resulting bulk of the book would have been undesirable in its effect on the potential general reader. Especially important is a broadening awareness among the United States public that a metamorphosis has taken place in the political structure of Europe, both as it relates to the role of individual countries and as it results in a new political entity to deal with critical economic, social, and military problems. Still to be tested, of course, is the vitality of public

support for the new structures. But fundamental principles and methods of American foreign policy are directly affected, and for this reason a wider public understanding of the new concepts prevalent in Europe is required on our part. European changes will undoubtedly affect the full range of economic, social, political, and military problems that lie at the base of European-American relations. It is to be hoped, therefore, that Zurcher's book may have a wide audience.

Indiana University

WALTER H. C. LAVES

ELIZABETHANS AT HOME. By *Lu Emily Pearson*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1957. Pp. 630. \$8.75.)

ONE of the difficult tasks of the historian is to reconstruct the daily life of an ordinary citizen in earlier periods when detailed information is often sparse and hard to assemble. Mrs. Lu Emily Pearson has compiled a large volume filled with fascinating bits of information about the way of life of various kinds of Elizabethans. She has spent many years combing books and documents for significant facts and has brought together an amazing amount of detail about numerous aspects of life in the reign of Elizabeth I. Her chapter headings give a hint of her scope: "Homes and Gardens," "Fathers and Mothers," "Education of Children," "Sons and Daughters," "Preparation for Marriage," "Founding and Maintaining the Home," "Changes Wrought by Death," and "Elizabethans at Home." But these divisions merely separate the book into convenient bins into which Mrs. Pearson can pour an infinite variety of material garnered in her reading. For example, the last chapter, "Elizabethans at Home," discusses music, musical instruments, folk dancing, professional dancing, the habit of smoking, games, hunting, fishing, other sports and pastimes, holidays, holiday entertainments, other recreations, the Lord Mayor's show, household decoration, the condition of the roads and travel, eating and drinking habits, table service, table manners, the Queen's progresses, marriage customs, dress and costume, family authority, class stratifications, and general behavior. The other chapters are equally rich and diverse in the subjects covered. Though the reader at times is left in a state of confusion as to just which Elizabethan was doing what at a given time, Mrs. Pearson provides the clues for unraveling the mystery and her factual material is invaluable to the social historian.

Since it is very nearly impossible to handle so much concrete detail without making a few slips in interpretation or meaning, the reader must be on his guard against occasional errors and a tendency to draw unwarranted general conclusions from specific illustrations that may not be typical. It is hardly accurate, for example, to say that strolling musicians were not in high repute and "often played on similar instruments, monotonously; in this case they were referred to somewhat contemptuously as a *consort*." Nor is it correct to imply that morris dancing by professionals was in "imitation of the elaborate steps in the masques and anti-

masques at the great houses. . . ." Neither is it very illuminating to say that "joint stools were so named because they were joined together"; or that the common people skated "in winter when the moor north of London was frozen over"; or to imply that the frequent allusions in Elizabethan literature to gifts of lute string meant cat gut for musical instruments when in reality it usually meant a glossy silk fabric or ribbon. It is regrettable that many statements do not have supporting documentation that would benefit other workers.

Lack of preciseness is perhaps inevitable in a book of such scope and the historian should not let these imperfections obscure the genuine contribution that Mrs. Pearson has made in providing a mass of useful data and an enormous number of valuable quotations, many from obscure books and pamphlets. She also provides a useful bibliography.

Folger Library

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

THE INDEPENDENTS IN THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR. By *George Yule*.
(New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 155. \$4.00.)

TWENTY years ago in this journal, this reviewer published an article titled "The Problem of the Presbyterian Independents." It sought to cope with the implications of the fact, therein established, that of the members of the Civil War Parliament usually designated as Independents a very high percentage served as elders in the Presbyterian Church, set up by parliamentary ordinance. The fact required explanation because the history of the Civil War Parliament had hitherto been organized about the supposed conflict between Presbyterians and Independents over matters of religion. The article set forth three main conclusions, mainly negative in character:

1) The categories "Independent" and "Presbyterian" are useless for the analysis of parliamentary politics in the first three years of the Civil War. The specific problem of the reconstruction of the English Church did not emerge in Parliament during those years, and therefore the divisions among parliamentarians did not then connect with religious issues.

2) The religious settlement of 1646, although formally Presbyterian, did not confront men with a clear-cut choice—to accept a full-bodied Presbyterian order in the church or to continue the struggle for a perfected Independent, i.e., Congregational, order.

3) The nonsectarian Puritanism linking English lay Puritans together was of greater force than the denominational differences long supposed to have divided them. Therefore the divergences of the *party* called Independent from the *party* called Presbyterian probably have their explanation in some sphere other than the religious.

It is flattering, indeed, to me that twenty years later my study should evoke

a whole book, and a very good one—*The Independents in the English Civil War*, by George Yule—devoted to supplementing, extending, revising, and rejecting the conclusions of my study. It is somewhat less soothing to my ego to have to confess that on the one major issue where Yule's conclusion stands in flat contradiction to my own, Yule almost certainly has the matter right, and I had it wrong. If I understand his contentions correctly, he would propose only minor corrections either to the facts about Independent participation in Presbyterian Church government or to the first two conclusions that I derived from these facts. It is altogether otherwise with respect to my third conclusion. In effect Yule has succeeded in accounting for the massive participation of the people called Independents in the parliamentary Presbyterian Church in a way which reconciles the participation with his persuasively argued belief that a major issue bearing on religion did in fact separate the men called Independents from those called Presbyterians. The issue was toleration.

As distinguished from Separatists and sectaries, Puritans of every shade of opinion held firm to the idea of a national church supported by involuntary levies such as tithes. But the party called Presbyterian, though not especially devoted to the Presbyterian Church polity, believed that the church must have the authority to enforce conformity. The party called Independent, fearing the use of force against the tender consciences of some of God's visible saints, denied the church that authority. As Yule summarizes the matter, "the Independent leaders were genuinely afraid of religious intolerance, and the Presbyterians were genuinely apprehensive about the religious anarchy that might follow the decentralization of the Church." The men called Independents, firmly committed to a national Puritan Church and on principle firmly opposed to Separatism or disestablishment, could take part with good conscience in the Puritan Church set up by Parliament in 1646, although the government of that church was Presbyterian. On the other hand they opposed the persecuting principles of that church, and found full satisfaction only in the church order established after the execution of the king. Of course Yule does not argue that the Independent party was composed entirely of men bound together by religious principle alone. In fact the religious radicalism of the Independents attracted into their orbit the sects, more radical in religion than they, the politically radical Republicans, and for a short time the socially radical Levellers. The Independent party was, in fact, a rather loose coalition.

Yule's study is wholly convincing in its main contention. Occasionally, in his zeal to emphasize the originality of his arguments, he somewhat exaggerates the degree to which what he has to say differs from what I said some years ago. If this be a sin, it is one that the reviewer must perforce consider venial, having himself so often committed the same.

Washington University

J. H. HEXTER

SCIENCE AND RELIGION IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND.

By *Richard S. Westfall*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 67.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 235. \$4.50.)

IN the seventeenth century the English "virtuosi" most commonly were, as Professor Westfall indicates, those persons "who took an active interest in promoting the growth of natural science," although the substitution of "natural philosophy" for "natural science" would improve the accuracy and inclusiveness of the statement. Anyone who has read in the works of the "virtuosi" is struck at once by their solemn attempts to harmonize their scientific discoveries with religion (almost always with the Christian religion) and to proclaim the values of experimental philosophy for the exposition and proof of Christianity. Far from finding Christian theology a barrier to budding science, as, in varying degrees, Lecky, Draper, White, and (disappointingly) Paul Hazard believed to be the case, the "virtuosi" generally saw complete harmony between science and religion, were religiously motivated in their scientific endeavors, and, in most cases, did far more damage to orthodox Christian theology than the latter did to the new experimental philosophy.

Westfall "endeavors to illuminate some aspects of the interaction of science and religion in the late seventeenth century by studying the opinions of the scientists (the 'virtuosi,' as they were called)." Eight chapters treat of "The Problem," "The Harmony of Science and Religion," "The Harmony of Existence," "Divine Providence and Natural Law," "The Growth of Natural Religion," "Survivals of Supernatural Christianity," "Reason and Faith," and "Isaac Newton: A Summation." A "Bibliographical Essay" and index complete the book. The author limits his treatment to the English scene ("justified to some extent by the leadership that England held in the development of science at the time") and the period ranging between Robert Boyle and Isaac Newton, although Sir Thomas Browne and a few others antedated Boyle slightly. The study is solidly based, well organized, and competently written. In addition to the published works of the "virtuosi," the author has consulted a great many of their manuscript remains in the archives of the Royal Society of London, the British Museum, and the library collections at Oxford and Cambridge.

In general Westfall, like E. A. Burt and R. F. Jones, is more concerned about the harmful effects of science upon religion than the reverse process. That the English "virtuosi" did not all conform to a single pattern he makes very clear. Sir Thomas Browne, Isaac Barrow, and John Mapletoft were the principal "Survivals of Supernatural Christianity." The others, though their approaches varied, generally settled for a natural religion, treating only those aspects of Christianity to which rational proofs might apply and ignoring the spiritual needs to which Christianity had long ministered. In this fashion the "virtuosi" prepared the way for deism. Replace the reverence for Christianity of the "virtuosi" with the open

doubt of the *philosophe*, and deism emerges full-blown. Indeed, the reverence of the "virtuosi" is often tintured with uncertainty. Their multitudinous works on natural religion are testimonies to their queasy consciences; their battles against alleged atheists were expiation for the incipient atheism of their own minds. Thus Westfall seeks to correct the impressions of C. E. Raven and others that the natural religion of such men as John Ray was orthodox Christianity. But his most important (and probably most controversial) contribution in this direction lies in his treatment of Newton who, far from being the mystic some of his biographers have claimed that he was, appears as an antitrinitarian advocate of a singularly shallow version of natural religion: "Newton simply ignored the spiritual questions. Christianity was to him a matter of doctrines, or rational formulae. Thus he wrote endlessly, defining the true religion, but never did he prostrate himself before his God."

This is a very good book.

University of Illinois

RAYMOND P. STEARNS

THE FACTION OF COUSINS: A POLITICAL ACCOUNT OF THE GRENVILLES, 1733-1763. By *Lewis M. Wiggin*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 69.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 351. \$5.00.)

FEW eighteenth-century families were more influential than the Grenvilles, from the time when as "Cobham's cubs" they snapped at Walpole's feet, down through the fifties and sixties when they gave England two "prime ministers" in the elder Pitt and his brother-in-law George Grenville. Moreover, save for the Duke of Newcastle, there is hardly anyone for whom the documentary sources are more plentiful—what with the great volume of Stowe MSS at the Huntington Library in addition to the many Grenville papers in public and private British archives.

With such a topic and such materials Mr. Wiggin might well have produced a study like John Brooke's *The Chatham Administration* (which Wiggin seems not to have used, perhaps because it appeared too late, or some other product of the Namier school like the less effective *Rise of the Pelhams* by J. B. Owen. *The Faction of Cousins*, unfortunately, has none of the insight or clarity of Sir Lewis Namier's work or that of his abler followers, and one is forced to conclude that the story of the Grenvilles still awaits the "thoughtful examination" mentioned by the author in his preface.

This is a pity, for Wiggin deals with his subject with loving thoroughness. He has been through every document, manuscript or printed, relating to the Grenvilles, and has conscientiously recorded every trivial or significant fact somewhere in text or footnotes. Every loan made by Lord Temple to a Buckingham elector, every application for a place or favor made or received by one of the "cousinhood"

appears in the seven long chapters that chronicle such matters over a span of thirty years; or if they are not *all* there, one has the impression that they are, so obscured are the woods by these thickets of political minutiae. This reviewer (himself no mean collector and recorder of minutiae) finished the book with the disappointing sensation that he had learned very little more than he already knew about the political career of Pitt and the Grenvilles.

While the narrative chapters make difficult reading, the second, "Of Men and Measures," and the last, "Some Reflections on Grenvilles and Parties," are of more general interest. Here are a number of challenging conclusions; conclusions which do not, however, follow from the material presented in the other sections. Briefly, Wiggin goes the "revisionists" one better and disposes not only of a "Whig" and a "Tory" party but of all party groups, including family connections like the Grenvilles, whom he feels lacked the coherence or stability needed for a proper "party." He concludes that in the eighteenth century the only parties were the individual politicians—one-man parties! "If the family party itself did not hold together, then obviously family parties did not exist," and "the picture of political history between 1733 and 1763 remains as chaotic as before."

Such a verdict, if clearly demonstrated, would be very significant; but Wiggin's evidence seems much too fragile for such a weighty conclusion. Nor are a number of his lesser judgments beyond question. Though familiar with Namier's work, he can still write about the 1761 election with no reference to, and apparently little understanding of, the entire chapter devoted to that election in *The Structure of Politics*. Can it be that some of the "chaos" that he finds in the politics of the period lies in his own inability to see what others have seen and clearly demonstrated: a recognizable pattern of party groups (including a Grenville connection) such as that pictured so convincingly by Brooke in his treatment of Chatham's last administration?

College of Wooster

ROBERT WALCOTT

LORD CHATHAM AND AMERICA. By O. A. Sherrard. (Fair Lawn, N. J.: Essential Books. 1958. Pp. 395. \$5.40.)

THIS is the third and last volume of O. A. Sherrard's trilogy: *Lord Chatham*. The first two volumes appeared under the titles respectively, *A War Minister in the Making* and *Pitt and the Seven Years' War*. The three now constitute the most detailed biography of William Pitt to date, outside of that by the German writer, Albert von Ruville, which, incidentally, should be read in connection with the Sherrard life of the great English statesman for a balanced view of contemporary events.

In the preparation of the volume Sherrard has shown commendable industry in examining, for the specific purposes he had in mind, a good deal of manuscript material, such as the Chatham, Newcastle, Hardwicke, and other papers in the

Public Record Office, the British Museum, and at Chatsworth. He also writes well and holds the reader's interest. Further, he seeks here and there in the course of his narrative to do justice to those contemporaries of Pitt whom he most severely criticizes. He credits, for example, George Grenville, busy with his plans for securing an American revenue, with a desire to see the colonies represented in Parliament. *Lord Chatham and America*, however, represents not an attempt to present the unfolding of events in Pitt's later years in a spirit of historical detachment, but a brief—with all the faults that frequently characterize a brief. To Sherrard the only real patriot in public life in Great Britain between the years 1761 and 1778 was Pitt; the only mistake the latter made as a statesman was the acceptance of a peerage and with it transferal to the House of Lords. Chatham's opponents, without exception, were men void of principle with their eyes only on the chance for advancement. When Pitt, as chief minister, wanted in 1761 to strike at Spain by surprise with a sudden declaration of war so as to insure the capture of the Spanish treasure fleet and met opposition from all the other members of the cabinet council except his brother-in-law Earl Temple, Sherrard denies that there was in this clash any fundamental principle or policy at stake. Those opposed to a break of the peace in such fashion were, to the writer, "professed pacifists," and as for George III, the only thing that mattered from his own narrow view and interest was his "honour," not Great Britain and the Empire. Sherrard does, however, go so far as to admit that "Grenville . . . still cherished in his cold heart some cinders of patriotism caught from Pitt."

The author's grasp of the political history of the period appears to be limited and as a consequence he does not escape pitfalls. With reference to the trade regulations embodied in the navigation acts he states that "all colonial exports must be carried in English ships . . . and all imports must be shipped from England." In order to meet its urgent needs, therefore, "America smuggled out fish, flour, horses, and timber. . . ." Again, in referring to this unhappy situation of the colonials, he asserts that it was intensified "by Grenville's Act (the Currency Act of 1764) prohibiting the use of paper money." In view of its manifest defects, *Lord Chatham and America* is a book to be used with great caution by its readers.

Lehigh University

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

BURKE AND THE NATURE OF POLITICS: THE AGE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Carl B. Cone*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1957. Pp. xv, 415. \$9.00.)

As Professor Copeland and his corps of editors continue work upon the multi-volumed edition of Burke's correspondence, including the great collections at Sheffield and Lamport opened to scholars in 1949, Professor Cone, with what he admits may under such circumstances be presumption, publishes the first volume

of a new life. Twenty years ago Sir Philip Magnus saw these papers, apparently in an unorganized and disarranged state. Since Cone has had microfilms of them and of other manuscript materials, though without the benefit of scholarly editing, his can be called the first full-dress biography to be based upon all surviving letters of the Burkes.

This volume ends with the fall of the North ministry in 1782, a period of Burke's life to which Sir Philip Magnus devotes only a hundred pages. Its emphasis, as the title suggests, is upon Burke as a politician. It is Burke as Rockingham's busy private secretary, Burke as the first defender of the necessity of parties in government, Burke as the upholder of his own view of a member of Parliament's responsibility, which the author emphasizes with ample detail from the new materials. There is room also for much that has been unknown on Burke's private life, his finances, his friends, his skill as a farmer at Gregories. An immensely more complex figure than the heroic nineteenth-century Burke emerges from the new data. Much in him is less than heroic.

Out of the nineteenth-century view of Burke, based upon his writings and his speeches, has come the re-creation of him in his century as the apostle of a modern neoconservatism. A recent study by Peter Stanlis, *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law* (1958), reiterates that everything that Burke wrote, everything he did from the time he first appeared on the scene, was based upon his fundamental belief in natural law. Cone never once mentions natural law when discussing Burke's ideas. He says that had Burke died before the French Revolution he would never have been known as a political philosopher, only as a consummate politician. Burke was writer, statesman, and philosopher combined, as Cone admits, without himself combining them in his biography. The issue that seems to be developing here and that only more studies of Burke will solve, is whether he was a party hack prostituting his enormous learning and genius to the cause of the Rockingham Whigs; whether he was an independent thinker of intellectual integrity; or whether he belongs, in a fashion not yet spelled out, somewhere between the two. Cone does not take any clear stand. He calls Burke the philosopher in action, but he gives us more of action and too little of philosophy. He succumbs at times to an interpretation, once thought correct, of Burke as a utilitarian. The random, offhand remarks he makes on Burke's philosophy during these years betray less understanding of eighteenth-century thought than a biographer of Burke should have.

Yet it would be unfair to leave the impression that Cone does not deal with the problem of the reevaluation of Burke. He knows that every advance in constitutional and political theory comes during the pressure of great events, usually through the mind of an exceptionally gifted man. Burke's services to the concept of party government he rightly stresses. And he understands that it is some denigration of Burke to relate, as Professor Hoffman has shown, that when agent for the colony of New York he never took the trouble to learn about America, that

his solution for the crisis was not one that would have been acceptable in America, and that he changed his mind, on a matter of principle, as the crisis deepened.

Newberry Library

STANLEY PARGELLIS

BRITISH PUBLIC FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION, 1774-92. By J. E. D.

Binney. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 320. \$7.20.)

Mr. Binney has selected for emphasis a period in the history of British finance that was in some respects transitional. There was an increasing acceptance by Parliament of responsibility for the methods of administration. Proposals for reform met with some measure of success. The most useful part of this work would seem to be the sections on the investigatory commissions and committees and their reports.

Although several more specialized studies of eighteenth-century administration have appeared in recent years, this is the first one to take such a general approach. It is somewhat comparable in coverage to Stephen Baxter's recent publication on the Treasury in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The chapters cover the following topics in this order: the beginnings of administrative reforms; the various revenues and their administration; expenditures (including a section on the public debt) and their administration; the Treasury and Exchequer; conclusions with respect to the financial system; and notes on several ministers of finance. This arrangement makes a certain amount of overlapping and repetition necessary.

In many sections of the book the author finds it desirable to go beyond his proposed time limits and ranges widely over the whole eighteenth century. He even makes excursions into earlier and later centuries, attempting to give the reader an understanding of the origin and development of financial institutions and of the effect of reform upon later history. He seems insufficiently prepared, unfortunately, for such a complex project. His generalizations are frequently unsupported and unsupportable.

Even within the period of his particular research major errors are apparent. The sections on financial relations with the colonies, for example, are unreliable, both with respect to the customs system and the crown revenues. But there are also many questionable statements concerning the organization, functions, and procedures of the British Treasury, the very heart of the whole system. Such defects seriously impair the usefulness of this ambitious work.

The bibliography is impressive but not exhaustive. Unused secondary accounts would have clarified certain topics. In other cases a more thorough investigation of Treasury records would have supplied the missing information.

Binney writes with clarity and assurance. His very tone of authority, however, is likely to mislead the unwary.

Wilson College

DORA MAE CLARK

THE FRENCH BOOK TRADE IN THE ANCIEN REGIME, 1500-1791. By David T. Pottinger. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 363. \$7.50.)

THIS work has assembled for the first time in English pertinent facts concerning the publishing industry in France from the Renaissance to the Revolution. It has not been Mr. Pottinger's intention to give a historical account of the trade; he has chosen instead to survey the business of making, marketing, and printing books. His investigation is widely oriented, beginning with authors, guild masters, journeymen printers and dealers, apprentices, along with the auxiliary trades of papermakers, illustrators, and binders. His approach is sociological rather than historical or literary, and, though interesting and refreshing in general, it sometimes becomes discouragingly factual and statistical.

Pottinger seems content to remain at this factual level. He notes continually the number of workers, journeymen, apprentices; their salaries, prices of materials and books, marked changes in these items over the period of three hundred years, the organization of guilds, economic difficulties of the profession, and laws and regulations devised to remedy these difficulties. As a result, his work is more descriptive than evaluative, and though he speaks of these workers as effective makers and carriers of the ark of civilization, he leaves the import of their contribution to the historian of ideas.

Pottinger has selected his material from a bibliography both varied and extensive, utilizing very intelligently such publications as Pellisson, *Les Hommes de lettres au XVIII^e siècle*; Tromp, *Étude sur l'organisation et l'histoire de la communauté des libraires et imprimeurs de Paris*; Toinon, *Les Relieurs français, 1500-1800*; Isambert, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises*; and Saugrain, *Code de la librairie et de l'imprimerie de Paris*. To be properly evaluated, his work should be compared with H. J. Martin's *Histoire du livre et de la librairie* in G. C. Grenté's *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises* (Paris, 1954). He has used less, indeed hardly at all, the Anisson-Duperron collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale, the magnificent collection of material in the archives of the Bibliothèque Nationale, D'Héméry's journal, and Ravaisson's collection extracted from papers at the Bastille. Belin's *Commerce des livres prohibés*, and his *Mouvement philosophique* might also have served him to excellent purpose.

The author should be commended nonetheless for publishing a very readable and interesting account of the book trade between the invention of printing and the Revolution. His chapters on "Censorship," "The Organization of the Book Guild," and "Protection of Literary Property" are especially well done. It must be noted that certain omissions have resulted in a somewhat distorted picture of the trade, for it is impossible to make a really accurate presentation of censorship without taking into consideration various types of clandestinity prevalent during the eighteenth century, as well as publications of French books at Geneva, Amster-

dam, the Hague, and London. One has only to think of Cramer's operation for Voltaire, Marc Michel Rey's for Rousseau, Rey's printings of clandestine manuscripts so current in the first half of the century, and J. Nourse's activities in England to realize what modifications would be necessary in the picture were French publishers abroad assigned proper importance.

Pottinger, finally, has attempted to fit authors, publishers, and dealers into the society of the *ancien regime* and in so doing has selected from Nicéron, Moréri, and Bayle two hundred authors for each century under consideration. While this is a very ingenious method, it does not work very well for any of the centuries, and not at all for the eighteenth. Moreover, the questions he asks in regard to his samples do not always produce significant results. For instance, his statistics concerning the number of authors who were born and died in Paris do not seem particularly relevant. On the other hand, certain of his observations are very important: he notes, for instance, that books on theology declined rapidly in number during the three centuries in favor of books on history; that the printing business was an almost patriarchal affair represented by a few families; and that the initial organization of the trade under the theological university underwent continuous modification until it came to be organized under state authority. He makes an interesting point in indicating the way guilds clung to their religious and social goals even when they had become closely identified with the political (and economic) administration.

Princeton University

IRA WADE

STRASBOURG IN TRANSITION, 1648-1789. By *Franklin L. Ford*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xvii, 321. \$6.75.)

STRASBOURG is fortunate in this newest of its historians. Mr. Ford acquired a thorough knowledge of the French old regime in writing his work on the French aristocracy some years ago; he then turned his attention more especially to German studies; and the present book is the outcome of this multiple experience. It has given him an equal command not only of French and German, but of the Alsatian dialect that was to a large extent the language of journalism, private correspondence, and even official municipal records in the old Strasbourg. To him it is immaterial whether Strasbourg is or ought to be "French" or "German." He values the city, and admits to loving it, as a European city, none the less important, and hardly the less typical, for not illustrating the pure and abstract national entities represented by solid color on political maps. He accepts it as a mixed community, instructive as such today, when purely European nationalisms are somewhat receding and it is increasingly clear that means must be found for ethnically mixed populations to live constructively together.

His account is limited to the period from the last years of the old imperial free city to the first year of the French Revolution. His story tells essentially how

a little German republic gradually became, not French in every respect, but a kind of nonnational blend. He has made use of the archives at Strasbourg, Paris, and Vienna, and digested a mass of monographs and local printed materials; with equal skill he turns to legal, administrative, fiscal, economic, sociological, literary, artistic, and architectural matters. What the book loses in chronological range it abundantly regains in depth and scope.

The book begins with a description of Strasbourg after the Peace of Westphalia: a city suffering from economic decay, both localistic and cosmopolitan in its outlook, ruled by a tight oligarchy and with a privileged church, in this case Lutheran. Various features characteristic of the old regime in France are thus shown to antedate the annexation. The body of the book is a succession of topical chapters, which yet show a meaningful chronological progression. Military matters come first, for the first sign of Bourbon rule was the appearance of a French garrison in this easternmost of French outposts. Then comes a chapter on administration, for the soldiers were followed by royal intendants to supervise the taxation and civilian controls that went with the military establishment. Religion follows, for various French Catholics migrated to Alsace, and the king's government sponsored the conversion of Alsatian Protestants, without much result; Alsace remained, until the Revolution, the one part of France where Protestantism was perfectly legal. A chapter follows on trade and commerce, called the "economics of an anomaly"; for Strasbourg and Alsace continued to do business mainly with the Rhineland and Germany, and remained outside the French tariff system as a province "effectively foreign." There are three chapters on social and cultural life. The gradual reorientation in the direction of Paris is set forth, in such things as ladies' fashions, literary taste, and architectural preferences, but the continuing German influence is also emphasized, as is the fact that similar French influences were at the same time penetrating Germany itself. The growing use of the French language is nicely offset by a detailed account of the sojourn at Strasbourg of Goethe and Herder, and hence of the continuing importance of the city for German literary development. The last chapter is on the year 1789. It is clear enough that the "French" Revolution at Strasbourg was genuine and indigenous; that some of its causes lay in conditions of a kind to be found in many German and other European cities. The connection with Paris, the French crown, and the Estates General was decisive, however, so that here as elsewhere in France, the Revolution must be understood as a continuing exchange between localized and centralized forces. There are few books in English where the reader can obtain such a satisfying view on a concrete stage either of the Revolution, or, more especially, of the old regime in all its curiously reasonable irrationalities.

The style is warm and broadly sympathetic; it is rare for the same person to combine, like the present author, the patience for technical and archival research with the sense of proportion, the courage to cut, and the imagination to re-create actual persons and places. The book has won a prize at the Harvard University

Press. Some may think it a little parochial for a great university press to offer a prize limited to members of its own faculty, but Ford can feel that his book might have received equal recognition in a wider contest.

Princeton University

R. R. PALMER

D'ÉTIGNY ET L'ADMINISTRATION DE L'INTENDANCE D'AUCH (1751-1767). Tomes I and II. By *Maurice Bordes*. [Thèse pour le Doctorat ès Lettres présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris.] (Auch, France: Frédéric Cocharaux Imprimeur. 1957. Pp. 517; 522-1034.)

ANTOINE Mégret d'Étigny (b. 1719) administered the Intendancy of Auch from 1751 until his death in 1767, save for a number of months in 1765-1766 when he was recalled to Paris on the allegation of failure to prosecute the crown's interests vigorously enough vis-à-vis certain of the corps. These two volumes are a noteworthy study of his administration, or rather of *the* administration of the intendancy under D'Étigny, for a great deal of background data is included. Here is scholarship that rests on a great quantity of archival sources, both local and national, not to mention published documents and special studies. One does not know whether to be more respectful of the prodigious activity and great competence of the intendant, or of the massive detail and documentation of the work that sets them forth. There is little narrative. The method of M. Bordes is to describe systematically every facet of administration, working his evidence into the text. There is a folder of maps, plans, and tables. Generalizations are saved for chapter summaries and the summary of summaries that forms a general conclusion of some twenty pages. The summaries are excellent, and, despite the paucity of data on D'Étigny's private affairs, we are left with a clear picture of his attractive personality. As for his significance in the general history of the intendancy as an institution, Bordes finds that in his ideas as in his time D'Étigny stood midway between the administrator of Colbert's period and that of Turgot. D'Étigny was no *philosophe*; he was simply an enlightened conservative. The tendency of the government and his own sense of facts led him increasingly to overlook the Huguenot revival in his jurisdiction; but as a devout Catholic he deplored it. D'Étigny tried vigorously to further the economic development of the region, and in the building of a network of roads lay one of his principal triumphs. He also came increasingly to favor greater liberty of trade, but he was not a physiocrat, and to guard the food supply he opposed especially the physiocratic doctrine of the freedom of the grain trade. Essentially a humanitarian, characterized by an outgoing benevolence toward both communities and individuals, courageous in opposing what he deemed excessive claims of privilege in the great family of Gramont or the Bishop of Auch, he was no egalitarian. Distinctions between noble and *roturier* must be upheld; village schools should not be favored, lest the peasants learn to be dissatisfied and leave the land.

D'Étigny's career incorporates two political principles. On one hand there was a tendency when possible to conciliate and seek the support of the *corps intermédiaires*. For in its legal structure, the Intendancy of Auch was complicated, including both *pays d'élections* and *pays d'états*, and it was subject to the jurisdiction of three parlements. But D'Étigny was also the *commissaire départi* serving the crown. Who would cavil at him if he saw nothing fundamentally irreconcilable between the welfare of the state and that of the society he governed in the king's name? But there were not many men of his quality on either side, and he was caught himself in the clash of crown and corps, being restored to his functions, with marks of the government's esteem, only just before his death. Bordes declares that D'Étigny's career does not bear out the thesis supported by Tocqueville, Cramail, and Lhéritier—among others—that the eighteenth-century intendant operated almost independently of the ministry and councils. He cites not only the temporary recall just referred to but various instances in which the ministry effectively curtailed the freedom of action formerly enjoyed by D'Étigny and his power to enforce obedience. At the same time, the ministry failed themselves to step into the breach they had thus made in the king's power in the provincial administration, and this, says Bordes, was an important factor in D'Étigny's increasing willingness to conciliate the Estates of Béarn and the Parlement of Navarre.

Duke University

FRANCES ACOMB

MACHT UND GERECHTIGKEIT: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE
DES FALLES DREYFUS. By *Siegfried Thalheimer*. (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1958. Pp. 823. DM 48.)

THIS volume is a detailed analysis of the ultimately successful campaign to reverse the 1894 judgment of the French military court martial that found Captain Alfred Dreyfus guilty of treason. It was apparently designed to inform the German layman about this great struggle, to describe one of the principal modern conflicts between collectivism and individualism, to illuminate some of the origins of National Socialism, and to describe some of the strengths and weaknesses of democracy as it operated in the Third Republic. Its great length must surely restrict its appeal; the main body of the book is 725 pages long, and the appendixes, the bibliography, the chronology, and the *dramatis personae* fill almost another hundred pages.

Thalheimer sees the Dreyfus Affair as the birth of democratic disorder and of National Socialism, but the volume is devoted largely to a kind of detective novel analysis of the conflict between those who sought to prove Dreyfus innocent and those who sought "to defend the honor of the Army" by keeping him on Devil's Island. The review of the long struggle is in general unexceptional, and Thalheimer offers no new discoveries, explanations, or interpretations, although there

are occasional flashes of very penetrating insight. Bernard Lazare and Péguy are his heroes, as they are for most scholars with any tinge of idealism. Thalheimer is somewhat critical of the Dreyfusard camp in general, particularly for underestimating the significance of anti-Semitism as a factor, for the excessively practical, logical, and rational way it managed its campaign, and for extending the struggle beyond the limited arena in which Thalheimer himself is interested and in which Lazare and Péguy fought most effectively.

The principal shortcoming of the book, for the lay reader or the scholar, is the complete absence of any attempt to place the struggle in its French and European setting. Thalheimer provides no political, economic, or intellectual background for the struggle, and there is no description of the international situation that affected interested Frenchmen. Thus, no description is provided the reader of the French political parties, their composition, strengths, and policies, and the ways in which they acted and reacted between 1894 and 1906. Thalheimer does have a brief survey of developments within the various Jewish groups in France, but he offers no explanation or description of the anti-Semitic movement. The section in the appendix on the position of the French Catholics does not refer to developments before 1894 and neglects completely the Catholic Dreyfusards.

The book is based largely on the court records, Reinach and other detailed studies of the case, and some, but by no means all, recent research. While Thalheimer does effectively use novels as sources, he neglects memoir material generally and uses periodicals and newspapers not at all. Finally, with rare exceptions, the book lacks footnotes for even significant details and judgments.

Indiana University

ROBERT F. BYRNES

THE FRENCH ECONOMY AND THE STATE. By *Warren C. Baum*. [A RAND Corporation Research Study.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. xvi, 391. \$7.50.)

THE concepts and definitions of nineteenth-century capitalism as a system, we all know, were left for the socialists to work out; but neither the friends nor the enemies of the welfare state seem able to provide us with a workable picture of what sort of an economic system we have now. Since France has gone further toward *dirigisme* than any other great power, Mr. Baum's excellent study of the characteristics and performance of her "mixed" economy will be of the deepest interest to those concerned with the study of comparative economic systems as well as to students of recent French history. For the latter group this book is the most important work on France to appear since the 1951 *Modern France* (edited by Edward M. Earle), to which Baum himself contributed an article on the Marshall Plan. *The French Economy and the State* is a mine of solidly based and carefully presented information on French economic history from 1944 to 1954. It focuses attention first on how the state tried to reconstruct and modernize the

economy after World War II, and then on each aspect of the present economy where state "intervention" is important.

There are few surprises here for the pessimists. By using some elementary notions of economic theory, such as "efficiency of (national) resource use," Baum is able to show how horribly the French have bungled their economic opportunities. But what are we to make of the remarkable spurt forward of French economic life since 1954, when most of the author's statistical series end? If we want to avoid giving the government credit for the prosperity achieved since 1954, does not consistency require us to suspect that perhaps the government is not so much to blame for the bad showing before 1954 as the author seems to think? I do not mean to imply that he chose the terminal date of 1954 in order to be able to prove a point; his book is part of the RAND Corporation's study of France two decades after Liberation. But a lot of our free and easy generalizations concerning the relation between the French political economy and the character of French life in general, mostly of a rather patronizing hue, will have to be thought through again in the light of the period 1953-1958.

Of course Baum could very well defend the applicability of his work to the present situation by showing that recent economic progress might have been much greater without all the hampering elements of bureaucracy, the stupidly inefficient financing, and the heavy weight of the social services that he delineates with such completeness and precision. It may well be true that material progress has been made in spite of the political economy; it certainly seems true, as the author implies in his conclusions, that *political* progress will have to be made in spite of the horrifying complexities and contradictions of the French welfare state and all the frustrations and quarrels it has engendered.

A factor of the greatest value for all of us would be a clear and widely accepted notion of how a welfare state *should* perform. Such a measuring rod could help the Fifth Republic to fend off the vested interests, attack the proprietors of harmful "acquired rights," and defend the economy against those who want the state to do everything immediately. In working toward such a concept we can take courage from the knowledge that the present stage of capitalism must indeed be a tough and resilient affair if it can survive mistakes like those catalogued in this book.

University of Pennsylvania

MARTIN WOLFE

CORRESPONDENTIE VAN ROBERT FRUIN, 1845-1899. Edited by *H. J. Smit* and *W. J. Wieringa*. [Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap (Gevestigd te Utrecht), Vierde serie, No. 4.] (Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1957. Pp. xv, 518.)

FRUIN OVER DE WETENSCHAP DER GESCHIEDENIS. Volume I. By *Egidius Eligius Gerardus Vermeulen*. (Arnhem: G. W. van der Wiel & Co. [1957.] Pp. 103.)

HUIZINGA OVER DE WETENSCHAP DER GESCHIEDENIS. Volume II.

By *Egidius Eligius Gerardus Vermeulen*. (Arnhem: G. W. van der Wiel & Co. [1957.] Pp. 114.)

THE first of these books deals with the career of the noted historian Robert Fruin, who was born at Rotterdam in 1823 and served as professor of history in the University of Leiden from 1860 until his retirement in 1894. A charming personality, a vigorous intellect, and an accomplished historian, he carried on an extensive correspondence with colleagues and with like-minded people. During the 1940's Professor Z. W. Sneller began the collection of Fruin's letters that was finally completed after his death by Dr. H. J. Smit and W. J. Wieringa and published in 1957. A total of 527 letters was brought together covering the years 1845 until Fruin's death in 1899. Each letter is accompanied by copious notes which help throw a vivid light on the life and thought of intellectuals in the Netherlands during those years.

Vermeulen's doctoral dissertation named above deals with the thought of Robert Fruin and that of Johan Huizinga, upon whom the mantle of Fruin's greatness as a historian fell. (A third study, on Jan Romein, though promised, has not yet appeared.) According to Vermeulen and well-nigh all Netherlands historians, Fruin's work has become classic, and this judgment is doubtlessly correct. Fruin's mental formation lay chiefly in the rationalist and deist thought of the eighteenth century as they had served to bring forth the principles of liberalism that became triumphant in European thought after Napoleon. In the Netherlands the constitution of 1848 expressed the liberal ideal of Fruin. There was much optimistic belief among liberals that, given time, principles would be discovered in human affairs similar to those in sciences like physics and chemistry. Fruin began his professorship championing these theories. In his address as rector magnificus in 1878 he declared that the existence of such laws could not be gainsaid, and although they had not yet been discovered, he was certain they would be. The trouble with these nineteenth-century ideas was that man, being free in intellect and will, is not ruled by principles such as control the physical world.

Johan Huizinga, born in 1872, attained maturity during the closing decade of Fruin's life. Instead of seeking scientific laws operative in the whole realm of existence, he cultivated those things in history that spring from the creative nature of man. His aim was to study man as he acted and had his being. He objected to applying to man rigid norms such as exist in the natural sciences. Language, literature, art, music, religion, and metaphysics must be studied by the historian of man. Knowledge and faith, understanding and emotion are the warp and woof of history. All this is exceedingly complex but Huizinga made many a brilliant sally into it. As in the case of Fruin, Huizinga was most skillful in the analysis of institutions and their articles or essays have an abiding value. Readers will be thankful to Vermeulen for this capable exposition.

University of Washington

HENRY S. LUCAS

THE ECONOMIC SOCIETIES IN THE SPANISH WORLD (1763-1821).

By *Robert Jones Shafer*. (Syracuse N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 416. \$5.00.)

For the first time a searching study has been written about the "Economic Societies of Friends of the Country" and the role they played during the last days of the Spanish Empire. As might be expected, what these societies attempted to do provides a more substantial fare than what they actually accomplished. Private organizations comprised of an elite minority and enjoying some official support, they devoted themselves to a search for economic improvement of the Spanish world. Ideas of the enlightenment and the desire to modernize provided some limited direction. The task they set out to accomplish, however, was far beyond their capabilities. Their ambitious projects to diversify and rejuvenate the sagging Spanish economy generally emerged as little more than mere acts of philanthropy.

A brief study of the economic societies in Spain serves as an introduction. The origins of the movement are traced from the Basque Society and from the influence of Campomanes who founded the Madrid Society. Eventually some seventy societies in Spain received royal approval. Their activities focused on the fields of education, agriculture, industry, and commerce, but their accomplishments, even while basking in the light of crown acceptance, were fragmentary. A second part of the volume shifts the focus to the establishment of the twelve overseas societies, with emphasis on two of the most important: those of Havana and Guatemala. The third and final section contains the essence of the aims and activities of the colonial societies. Their organization, methods, and finances are scrutinized, their educational and philanthropic purpose is outlined, and their efforts toward improving the various branches of the economy are studied. An excellently written conclusion compares the societies of Spain with those of the colonies and evaluates their effect on the Spanish world. The subsequent history of the overseas societies after 1821 is developed in outline form and included in an appendix. An extensive and well-organized bibliography and an index complete the work.

Robert Shafer concludes from his meticulous study that the economic and political influence of the colonial societies was even less than that exerted by societies in Spain. Of special interest for the student of the period is the effect of the vacillating Spanish colonial policy on these private philanthropic organizations. The implications of enlightenment ideas and the emphasis on both local and American problems were inherent threats to the structure of empire that the Spanish crown tended to magnify even further. While the work of the societies was accepted and often encouraged in Spain, it never received more than lukewarm acquiescence overseas. The impediments placed in the way of effective action by the American societies may not have been the main reason why they failed to

solve the economic problems of the Empire. This attitude, however, largely prevented the possibility for cooperation between liberal Spaniards and creoles, and closed still another safety valve for the expression of reform as well as of local autonomy.

University of California, Berkeley

JAMES R. SCOBIE

SCANDINAVIA IN GREAT POWER POLITICS, 1905-1908. By *Folke Lindberg*. [Stockholm Studies in History, Volume I.] (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. 1958. Pp. x, 329. Kr. 25.)

SCANDINAVIA once carried weight in European politics, but the continental powers paid scant attention to the northern states in the nineteenth century. With the dissolution of the union of Norway and Sweden in 1905, Britain, Germany, Russia, and France initiated an active diplomacy in behalf of their policies. In following their negotiations on the Norwegian integrity and the Baltic and North Sea *status quo* agreements, Professor Folke Lindberg uses his current research on a history of Swedish foreign policy from 1870 to 1914 as well as articles and books such as *Kunglig utrikespolitik*, which caused such a sensation in 1950.

The great powers wanted to avoid any change in their relations with each other and with Scandinavia, but the lapse of treaties in 1905 forced them into some action. Germany sought to reduce England's influence to a minimum, while Sir Edward Grey and Edward VII wished to prevent Germany from closing the Baltic and to procure the throne of Norway for Edward's son-in-law. Russia intrigued for a deneutralization of the Åland Islands, but failed when Sweden secured British and German support. Thus in 1907 Germany, England, Russia, and France guaranteed to "respect" the integrity of Norway and the next year signed the North Sea and Baltic *status quo* agreements. The major powers affixed their signatures because they wanted to eliminate conflict at their immediate doorstep, apparently preferring to quarrel over Morocco, China, and other distant places. Except for Russia, each was satisfied with relations as they had been prior to 1905. Norway and Sweden each gained something and were greatly relieved to be free of these strenuous negotiations and rescued from their perilous position amongst the powers.

Lindberg provides a new glimpse of the great powers and their rivalry in Northern Europe, and he has extracted from the documents the full flavor of secrecy, importance, and suspense. Minor flaws, such as combination of footnotes and bibliography and the location of the notes next to the index, do not appreciably mar this welcome addition to our knowledge of Scandinavia's search for safety and peace in the struggle of political giants prior to World War I.

Occidental College

RAYMOND E. LINDGREN

NEW LIGHT ON MARTIN LUTHER, WITH AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF THE LUTHER FILM OF 1953. By *Albert Hyma*. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 1958. Pp. iv, 287. \$3.50.)

THIS book is a running commentary on recent portrayals of Luther during the last twenty-five years, scholarly and popular, mainly in English and chiefly in the United States. The material is arranged first in the order of Luther's career and then by topics. The significant and the utterly inconsequential are so jumbled that the author's thesis does not immediately come to light. He is one of those historians who so relegate a revolutionary movement to its past as to make its emergence as a separate entity difficult to explain. In the case of the Reformation, *Hyma's contention is that none of Luther's ideas was original and that he was not a heretic at the commencement of his reformatory career.* The schism in Christendom resulted less from theological differences than from Luther's exploitation of German nationalism.

The defense of this position takes the form of diminishing the gap between Luther and the Church of his day by drawing each toward the other. The teaching of the Catholic Church on indulgences, for example, is said to have been remote from the caricature drawn by Protestant historians. "That all sorts of abuses were associated with the granting of indulgences is not strange, but only on extremely rare occasion could any high official promise the forgiveness of all sins and expect to receive support from either superior or inferior officials in the Roman Catholic Church." To this we may reply that on more than one occasion during the Middle Ages the popes themselves issued indulgences remitting *poena et culpa*, penalty and guilt. In 1513 Leo X granted an indulgence to crusaders in which he promised *plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum, ac cum Altissimo reconciliationem, indulgentiam et remissionem* (Raynald, *Annales*, 1691, XX, p. 160). The instructions of Albert the Archbishop of Mainz to the preachers of indulgences in his domains—this was the document that provoked Luther's Ninety-Five Theses—promised *plenaria remissio omnium peccatorum*. Subscribers would be restored to the state of innocence that they enjoyed in baptism and would be relieved of all the pains of purgatory, including those incurred by an offense to the Divine Majesty. Those securing indulgences on behalf of the dead already in purgatory need not themselves be contrite and confess their sins (Walter Koehler, *Dokumente zum Ablassstreit*, 1934, pp. 110, 116, 121). Hyma says that Luther did not refute these words in the mouth of Tetzel because Tetzel never spoke them. That we do not know. They are not in the extant sermon attributed to him, but this is what he was instructed to say and for the present purpose it matters less whether he followed his instructions than that they were issued under the authority of the Primate of Germany. And back of him stood the Pope. When Luther attacked these instructions, Leo X commissioned the Master of the

Sacred Palace to draft a reply, which he did, branding Luther as a heretic and administering not one word of rebuke to Albert.

We are further told that Luther's Ninety-Five Theses "merely stated the orthodox Roman Catholic position." Odd in that case that Luther should have been so promptly dubbed a heretic and in such high quarters! A heretic he was, as Cardinal Cajetan a year later pointed out to him. The theses denied the *thesaurus meritorum sanctorum* (Nos. 56, 57, 58, and especially 62), the treasury of the merits of the saints, superfluous merits that might be transferred by the pope to the benefit of others. Luther denied that any work has any merit and the only treasury of the Church, said he, is the "holy Gospel of the glory and the grace of God." Cajetan indicated to Luther that this teaching contradicted the bull *Unigenitus* of Pope Clement V in 1343. Driven to admit the inconsistency, Luther ended by rejecting the word of the pope and was then told by Cajetan that he could be reconciled to the Church only if he would say *Revoco*. Luther attacked not merely the abuses of indulgences but indulgences to the very core.

The author maintains that not only on the matter of indulgences was Luther voicing orthodox opinion but that throughout he was merely repeating what others had said. Had he really been radical he would not have been supported by his own university. Passages are cited from the works of the Brethren of the Common Life and from Erasmus to show that they had anticipated Luther in criticizing indulgences, fasting, monasticism, and the invocation of the saints and before him had voiced the doctrine of justification by faith. The presentation of this material is useful but does not prove the point unless subjected to a careful scrutiny with the demonstration that Luther criticized the abuses for the same reasons and by justification by faith meant the same thing. Hyma goes so far in denying Luther's originality as to be completely unable to understand how at the Wartburg he could have addressed to himself the query, "Are you alone wise?" "If he actually was thinking that his position was unique he must have been suffering from some hallucination. How could any human being ever entertain the thought that he alone was wise? . . . It is very doubtful that he was so vain." It is not doubtful that he said this. The words are in the preface to the *De Abroganda Missa Privata*, written in the summer of 1521, when Luther was at the Wartburg (Weimar Ausgabe VIII, 412). The point was not whether Luther had derived his ideas from others but whether in view of the condemnation by the church and the empire he could possibly be right.

There are many other passages in this book that one would like to discuss. Hyma discovers errors in the works of others and not the least in my own. For correction we have reason to be grateful, but in my own case I could wish that he had used the latest printing from which some of the mistakes have already been removed.

Yale University

ROLAND H. BAINTON

RESTORATION, REVOLUTION, REACTION: ECONOMICS AND POLITICS IN GERMANY, 1815-1871. By *Theodore S. Hamerow*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 347. \$6.00.)

FROM a striking quotation of Goethe on the first page to a sardonic comment on blood and iron on the last, this book is a delight. It provokes reflection, grips the imagination, and titillates the intellect. Deftly it explains what was once obscure. Unobtrusively it documents what it has to say. Avoiding both vulgarity and pomposity, the author has tempered massive research with good judgment and disciplined a facile pen with good taste.

Hamerow holds that the key to this period is the role of the artisan and peasant, the one fighting a losing battle against the machine, the other winning gradual emancipation only to face disaster in a world of capitalistic farming or excessively fragmented plots. Their rioting in the hard times of the forties set the Revolution in motion; their desertion of the Frankfort Parliament ended it. Not the liberals but the conservatives seized the opportunity. Likewise targets of the machine age, the latter adopted a broad welfare program which, combined with the prosperity of the fifties, kept them in power. In the end, however, they could not halt progress. When Bismarck finally turned from the uprooted peasants and impoverished craftsmen to the rich industrialists and factory workers, the liberals at last gained a voice in affairs or at least such voice as he allowed them.

This approach yields many new insights. The repression of the restoration period was less a matter of unenlightened economic policies than of unimaginative social policies, which neglected the victims of rapid economic change. It is a joy to encounter a concrete state-by-state analysis and to see the lesser states, not merely Prussia, given due attention. During the Revolution the urban proletariat consisted largely of remnants of the precapitalistic society, not factory workers, the darlings of the socialists. The point would have been much more significant, however, if Hamerow had provided statistics as to relative numbers and had he convincingly demonstrated that journeymen stood closer to the masters than to factory workers, since there is considerable evidence against this view. As for the so-called reaction, the several chapters on conservative measures to aid the guilds and liquidate the last vestiges of feudal agriculture are splendid in every respect, showing the Junkers to advantage as wily practitioners of Tory democracy.

Despite my high esteem for this book, I am not entirely satisfied. First of all, the clean organization is marred by useless sallies against straw men. It is no news that the ebbing revolutionary *élan* of the masses undermined the Revolution. Three pages, 129 and 137-138, seem excessive to debunk once more the legend of the professors' talking the Revolution to death. And it is simply untrue to say that the scholar "usually dismisses the Fifties" in his haste to get from the Frankfurt Parliament to Bismarck. Actually Hamerow is the one in haste. He dwells on the 1848 projects of economic unity and those of the North German

Confederation but ignores those of the Dresden conference and the *Bund*. The middle-state reformers like Beust and von der Pfordten he dismisses as "second-rate."

These difficulties show, I think, the limitations of the social approach. True, Hamerow does not intend a general history, despite his comprehensive title, but the "new dimension" claimed on the dust jacket is at times a weird one. Without the *kleindeutsch-grossdeutsch* struggle and the familiar diplomatic and nationality issues, the Revolution often looks like nothing more than a series of Luddite riots and manor burnings and the Frankfurt Parliament like the mere debating society Hamerow claims it was not. Yet if we fill out the picture with the conventional elements, it differs little from the ones left us by Valentin and Stadelmann.

What this boils down to is only that the treatment of the Revolution, despite much fresh material and lucid prose, lacks the originality and balance that distinguish the rest of the book. As a whole the book is seldom unsound, sometimes brilliant, and always captivating. Fortunately, it breathes the spirit of the conclusion: "Every age has the right to be understood in its own terms," and not that of the preface with its maudlin speculation that a liberal victory in 1848 might have spared us two world wars.

University of Kentucky

ENNO E. KRAEHE

DIE OBERSTE REICHsverwaltung UNTER BISMARCK, 1867-1890.

By *Rudolf Morsey*. [Neue Münstersche Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung, Band 3.] (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1957. Pp. 352. Cloth DM 24.80, paper DM 22.80.)

STATE-builders have administrative as well as diplomatic tasks. In Bismarck's case his biographers have all too often neglected the former, an omission now made good by Professor Morsey's factual study of Bismarck's development of the Reich's higher administrative offices (1867-90). It also deepens our understanding of the important role assigned to bureaucracy in German political practice.

The author subordinates political theory, including the complicated attempt to locate German sovereignty, in order to concentrate on administrative history. He has consulted the most significant published sources and has supplemented them with new archival material from the Hauptarchiv Berlin, the Zentralarchiv Potsdam, and its annex at Merseburg. These researches enable him to assess the extant monographs, most of which escape severe censure. Exceptions are those written by Hans Goldschmidt, heretofore the principal authority. He bludgeons Goldschmidt's readiness to depict a steady and deliberate unifying impulse in Bismarck's administrative policy.

The record sustains the author's contention that the unifying tendency of Bismarck's administrative building stemmed from practical circumstances and that after 1876-1877 the tendency even prevailed against Bismarck's attempt to

avoid mediatizing Prussia. The Reich's tree had taken root: the Kaiser, the Chancellor, and his administrative offices—even the Reichstag—steadily gained prominence over the princes and their governments. By 1890 the Reich and the Prussian government had not only attained separate identities; the Reich exercised more influence on Prussia than the other way around. Most proposals for legislation of national scope were originating in the Reich's administrative offices. And *faute de mieux* the Prussian war minister had become a Reich's war minister. Obviously the Chancellor had become something more than a Prussian under-secretary for foreign affairs touching the federal union. A counter-tendency stemmed from Bismarck's readiness to staff the Reich's offices with Prussian civil servants. Yet their disciplined, professional behavior, so the author believes, set the Reich in a correct perspective that emphasized the German nation without neglecting Prussia.

That perspective had first been sketched in Rudolf von Delbrück's memoir of July 24, 1867. The Prussian minister of commerce proposed that Bismarck administer the North German Confederation's affairs by augmenting the Chancellor's office. Morsey's account excels in depicting Delbrück's substantial role in planning and establishing a Reich's administration. To Delbrück's practical work, the National Liberal midwives of the Reich added their own centralizing zeal. Their failure to establish a collegiate and responsible ministry prompted Rudolf von Bennigsen to insist on the Chancellor's sole responsibility, an objective realized in Article Seventeen of the constitution. On this slim pillar arose the whole structure of the Reich's administration. It sustained Delbrück's work and forced Bismarck to abandon his original hope of using the Bundesrat as his "ministerial bench."

By 1876 Bismarck had begun to have misgivings. Delbrück's forced retirement enabled Bismarck to say that the Reich's administration had outgrown its constitutional warranty. His memorial to the crown of January 22, 1878, outlined plans to downgrade the presidial administration while binding its services more closely to the Chancellor. By "fastening Prussia on the Reich" he could also fend off the renewed liberal demand for a responsible ministry. Bismarck realized these aims in the Stellvertretergesetz of March 17, 1878. It certified the administrative competence, not the political responsibility of the Reich's bureau chiefs. It at once legitimized the Reich's bureaucracy while technicizing its governmental role. Thereafter the pace of administrative growth slackened, and, with the conversion in 1879 of the Reichskanzleramt to the Reichsamt des Inneren, it came to a halt, at least while Bismarck remained Chancellor.

But the ever-widening competence of the Reich's offices could not be stayed. It enhanced the Reichstag's political importance, the author believes, and even introduced a rudimentary ministerial responsibility, more evident, he admits, after 1890 than before. This gesture toward the normative role of the electorate partially overcomes the narrowness of his historical outlook. He writes in the

spirit of the positivist jurisprudence associated with Paul Laband, a jurisprudence more content to explore governmental facts and possibilities than political limits and responsibilities. Little is said about judicial restraints, even on the model afforded by Prussian law. Still, the author does acknowledge the liability attending Bismarck's insistence on administrative offices rather than responsible ministries. The Chancellor's retirement willed the government to Geheimräte who lacked the decisive quality of a governing elite: willingness to risk being *political*.

University of Notre Dame

WILLIAM O. SHANAHAN

GESCHICHTE DES LIBERALISMUS IN RUSSLAND. By *Victor Leontovitsch*. [Frankfurter wissenschaftliche Beiträge, kulturwissenschaftliche Reihe, Band 10.] (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann. 1957. Pp. xv, 425. Cloth DM 34, paper DM 30.)

PROFESSOR Leontovitsch, who holds the chair of Russian history at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University of Frankfurt, tells us that he was first moved to undertake this inquiry by noticing the absence of any discussion of Russia (and Spain) in Guido de Ruggiero's *History of European Liberalism*. At length the inquiry assumed the dimensions of a full-scale study, partly because of the special features of the Russian institutional environment. As he says, Russian liberalism was compelled to deal with problems that West European liberalism found had already been solved for it in the Middle Ages. The author tries to avoid the question of who was or was not a "liberal," and seeks to investigate who "einen wirklichen Beitrag zur Verbreitung liberalen Ideen oder zur Schaffung liberaler Institutionen in Russland geleistet haben." He declares the basic idea of liberalism to be the achievement of individual liberty, and its basic method "nicht das Schaffen, sonder das Abschaffen, d. h. die Beseitigung von allem, was die individuelle Freiheit in ihrem Bestehen bedroht und in ihrer Entfaltung hindert." He is at pains, however, to make clear that he regards any sharp break with tradition as dangerous. When Karamzin, a firm adherent of autocracy, is given a whole chapter, and when Catherine II's criticism of the French Revolution is examined in comparison with Edmund Burke's, it becomes clear that "liberalism" is being used in a special sense, somewhat akin to De Ruggiero's usage. Indeed, a conservative like Russell Kirk might well complain that this book is at least partly a history of conservatism in Russia. When, however, the reader grasps that what Leontovitsch is in fact concerned with is the growth of individual liberty (civil and political) under law, most of the terminological difficulties may be overcome. His book is an admirable analysis of that subject.

The volume is divided into three parts: "Geschichte des Liberalismus 1762-1855," "Entwicklung der zivilen Freiheit 1856-1914," and "Entwicklung der politischen Freiheit 1856-1914." Properly dismissing the ancient view that each of the nineteenth-century monarchs began as a liberal and ended as a reactionary,

the author traces the efforts of each—to a greater or lesser degree, and with the aid of enlightened bureaucrats—to advance liberty under law. Catherine II's emancipation of the nobility is seen as a forward step on this path. The Decembrist revolt set the pendulum swinging between reaction and revolution, and the way of the liberal became hazardous and difficult. Yet Alexander II proceeded to peasant emancipation and local self-government, and was moving toward a system of national representation at the very time that he was assassinated by revolutionaries. The advisers of Alexander III are criticized, particularly for their efforts to shore up the commune and thus obstruct not only agricultural improvement but also the full liberty for the peasant that the author sees as the fundamental prerequisite for a free Russia. Liberalism was repeatedly challenged by radicalism, in the cases of Catherine II versus Radishchev, Trubetskoi versus Petrunkevich, Miliukov versus Guchkov. A liberal section of the public, nevertheless, finally accepted a reconciliation with a liberal section of the bureaucracy in the Guchkov-Stolypin understanding at the opening of the Third Duma, and thereby a great opportunity appeared for fruitful work between what Maklakov called *vlast'* and *obshchestvennost'*. Unfortunately the narrative virtually ends at that point, and the important story of the Third and Fourth Duma remains untold. The author contends that the main task of Russian liberalism was "das altmoskauische Prinzip des Obereigentums des Staates an Grund und Boden zu überwinden. Dass Russland nicht rechtzeitig dazu gekommen ist, ist die Ursache davon, dass der Liberalismus in Russland scheiterte." That the revolutionaries resisted the efforts of enlightened bureaucrats and certain non-bureaucratic persons and groups to accomplish this end was one of Russia's greatest tragedies.

Leontovitch makes little pretense to originality of viewpoint. He bases his political theory firmly on the works of the late French sociologist, Maurice Hauriou, which he has studied for some years, and takes as his starting point for the evaluation of the crucial political events of the early twentieth century the works of the late Russian statesman Basil Maklakov. The formulation of the problem, organization, and construction of the book, nevertheless, are his own, and his interpretation of a fundamental thread of Russian history is presented in a clear and persuasive manner. He offers an illuminating and profound analysis of how the presence or absence of legal norms of individual liberty conditioned the ideological and political as well as the economic developments of the period he treats. The result is one of the most thoughtful and penetrating studies that have appeared in the field of Russian history in any country for some time. Not the least of the author's services has been to throw light on one of the great problems of the twentieth century in many corners of the earth, that of transforming autocratic regimes into free societies.

University of Washington

DONALD W. TREADGOLD

Far Eastern History

ORIENTAL DESPOTISM: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TOTAL POWER. By *Karl A. Wittfogel*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1957. Pp. xix, 556. \$7.50.)

"For three decades," Professor Wittfogel writes, "I studied the institutional settings of Oriental despotism; and for a considerable part of this time I was content to designate it 'Oriental society.' But the more my research advanced, the more I felt the need for a new nomenclature. Distinguishing as I do between a farming economy that involves small-scale irrigation (hydro-agriculture) and one that involves large-scale and government-managed works of irrigation and flood control (hydraulic agriculture), I came to believe that the designations 'hydraulic society' and 'hydraulic civilization' express more appropriately than the traditional terms the peculiarities of the order under discussion. The new nomenclature, which stresses institutions rather than geography, facilitates comparison with 'industrial society' and feudal society." Thus Wittfogel, under the category of "oriental despotism" does not present the usual contrast between the institutions of the "occident" and the "orient."

It may have been necessary or useful to develop a new nomenclature to enable him to make the institutional comparisons that he undertakes and to establish his conclusions. But it does impose a possibly unnecessary burden on the historical student, who has to familiarize himself with a new vocabulary while at the same time following an intricate analysis.

The oriental despotisms which Wittfogel deals with as "hydraulic societies" are those early and later nonindustrial functional societies which, because of the necessity of large-scale coordinated and directed group activity undertaken over a fairly wide territorial area, developed a centralized bureaucratic management of the affairs of the society. Irrigation and flood control works had to be planned, executed, and maintained to enable agriculture to be carried on in arid, semiarid, and humid areas such as Egypt, China, Peru, Mexico, and the Middle East. The execution and maintenance of large-scale public works required the assembly of materials and the direction of mass labor. Since these hydraulic and other related public works were managed by a large body of government officials arranged in an ascending hierarchy pyramided upward to one who had the power arbitrarily to hire and fire the officials, the organization was bureaucratic and at the same time absolutist. A monopoly of political power was successfully asserted by the bureaucracy which consequently brought state power and governmental power together. Within the state no rival centers of power, based on property, to that of the bureaucracy were tolerated. Thus Wittfogel's analysis of hydraulic societies shows "a State Stronger than Society," as he entitles a chapter, in the sense that there were no "constitutional" or "societal" checks on state power. Society,

in fact, in these "oriental despotisms" is found by Wittfogel to be divided into two classes—the governing, made up of the members of the administrative hierarchy, and the governed. The governing class ruled by methods, he says, of "total terror." The ruler lived in "total loneliness," and within the hierarchy of officials the governing condition was that of "total submission." Prostration in the presence of the supreme ruler was required as symbolic of this total submission.

The present reviewer believes that Wittfogel underestimates the ability of societal forces to set some limits to the actual exercise of total power by the governmental apparatus that constituted the organization of power in the oriental despotisms that he subjects to acute and detailed examination. Some evidence surely exists to support the conclusion that an undue exercise of power beyond that which was acquiesced in because customary met on occasion with effective resistance. It was, however, not the method of organization of power, as he points out, that occasioned the resistance, nor was rebellion directed against the system as such.

The elaborate analysis of the nature of hydraulic societies in the first eight chapters is obviously designed to prepare for the examination of the Marxist "Theory of the Asiatic Mode of Production." This theory, he finds, had to be modified by the Communists since: "The theory of Asiatic society endangered Communist leadership in Asia in that it depicted the 'capitalistic' West as capable not only of oppressive, but also of constructive action. It endangered Communist leadership in that it enabled the nationalist leaders of Asia to reject Moscow-rooted doctrine as their guide. And it endangered the Communist attempt to one-sidedly stress secondary if serious problems of property and thus to hide the primary problem of bureaucratic class rule and general state slavery."

In his final chapter "Oriental Society in Transition," Wittfogel deals with the nature of the alternative to capitalistic, or Western, methods of development presented by Soviet and also Chinese Communism.

It should be noted that the volume contains thirty-eight pages of footnotes and a bibliography of thirty-eight pages. The writing is vigorous, and the theses presented, while controversial, should not be brushed aside without careful examination.

University of Cincinnati

HAROLD M. VINACKE

THE FRENCH IN INDIA, 1763-1816. By S. P. Sen. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1958. Pp. xvii, 621. 50s.)

THIS work, the first thorough study of French activities in India by an Indian scholar with a complete command of French, is a significant contribution to its subject. It is, moreover, delightfully written in a spirit of scholarly objectivity, and merits a translation into French which would gain it a wider circle of readers in France than it will otherwise receive, Dr. Sen's achievement should inspire

other young Indian scholars to equip themselves for study of the voluminous materials for modern Indian history that exist in European languages other than English. In brief, this book provides the general reader with an excellent account of the last phases of the Anglo-French struggle in India and illumines for the specialist many aspects of the subject that have never before been carefully studied, especially the local history of the French settlements and the activities of French agents at the courts of Indian princes.

The manuscript materials in the Pondichéry archives, recently and most regrettably transferred to Paris before the cession of the French settlements to the Republic of India, have enabled Sen to reassess the work of earlier writers—both British and French—who, with the exception of Mme. Labernadie, were unable to use these records extensively or to make them the core of their work. Sen's knowledge of his own country and the conditions in southern India at the time, moreover, have made this reappraisal all the more acute. Bussy in his last years and Duchemin in particular are seen as the victims not of failing powers and incapacity but of circumstances both in India and in Europe that were beyond their control. In fact, Sen's reading of the contemporary correspondence and *mémoires*, both military and naval, reaffirms Bussy's own view that the expulsion of British power from India demanded at least the nine thousand troops and ten million livres that he asked for but never received. In the light of Sen's reappraisal, it hardly seems probable that a prolongation of hostilities beyond June, 1783, giving free rein to Suffren's naval genius, could have dealt the death blow to British power.

Nevertheless, it seems to this reviewer not quite correct to attribute to the French after 1783 as complete an abandonment of ambitions with regard to India as Sen implies. Just as the period 1763–1777 is replete with schemes for the reestablishment of French power in India, so the years 1785–1800 are replete with similar projects for reviving French prestige in the East; and the plans for humbling Britain in Asia, which necessarily involved humbling her in India, were, in the minds of the statesmen of the Napoleonic era, not so chimerical as they seem. By the benefit of hindsight and our knowledge of the economic history of these decades we are more aware than were contemporaries of the solid basis of British power in India and throughout the East. Men to whom the exploits of Clive, Dupleix, and the young Bussy were a vivid memory and the victories of Napoleon a present threat could not but regard the British power in India as fragile and insecure.

Confining himself primarily to war and diplomacy, Sen has not fully coped with the difficulties of describing what was taking place simultaneously in the different parts of India. There is much repetition that may confuse the reader who is not familiar with this period of Indian history. With regard to economic matters, Sen did not have sufficient time for work in France either in the papers of the East India Company of Calonne or in other collections of relevant material

in the Archives Nationales and elsewhere. A longer stay in France would make possible a further reassessment of the French achievement in India that is so much needed. It is to be hoped that Sen will supplement this noteworthy volume with another in the very near future.

University of Pennsylvania

HOLDEN FURBER

A HISTORY OF MODERN BURMA. By *John F. Cady*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 682. \$7.50.)

FOR many years there has existed the urgent need for a good all-round history of Burma. This volume presents a very important part of that history, since it sets forth in an orderly manner those events that happened in the political arena of Burma during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although an early chapter gives a quick and hasty view of the social and economic aspects of "old" Burma, i.e., prior to British domination, basically the author does not include in his purview the developments and trends in the social aspects and cultural institutions of Burma during the past century and a half. These important facets of Burmese history are yet to be written.

Nevertheless, the author, a student of political science as well as of history, is a good observer of political developments. His attitude is sympathetic when interpreting the carefully assembled facts related to the strong Burmese nationalist point of view as manifested in the intense desire for Burma independence, and when evaluating the demands and controls imposed on the Burmese by Britain as a controlling Western power.

The work is divided into four parts: Part one—"Old Burma and Its Disappearance," which takes the reader back to the time of the Burmese kings when patronage of Buddhism was a basis of loyalty to the Burmese king; when there was a central system of administration coupled with despotism; and when the Burmese kingship came to an end after the three Anglo-Burmese wars.

Part two—"British Colonial Rule," analyzes the British form of administration, and the changes that evolved as a result of British business practices and influence.

Part three—"The Renaissance of Burmese Nationalism," comprises the principal discussion of the entire work, since it tells about the steps that led to the Constitution of 1935.

Part four—"Re-emergence of Independent Burma," deals with the war period and the Japanese occupation, the problem of postwar British policy, the Nu-Attlee Treaty, the Communist rebellion in 1948, and the prospects and problems that Burma faces today.

The work is documented throughout, and the list of references is organized according to primary and secondary sources relevant to political Burma.

Library of Congress

CECIL HOBBS

A HISTORY OF MALAYA AND HER NEIGHBOURS. Volume I. By *F. J. Moorhead*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1957. Pp. x, 245. \$2.60.)

MALAYA: A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC APPRAISAL. By *Lennox A. Mills*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 234. \$4.75.)

THESE two books, although they fail to meet in the middle by a margin of some centuries, cover the two opposite ends of Malaya's history. F. J. Moorhead, senior lecturer in history at the Malayan Teachers' Training College, Kirkby, surveys the Malayan scene from the most ancient days to the close of the Portuguese period with the fall of Malacca to the Dutch in 1641. Lennox A. Mills, professor of political science at the University of Minnesota, deals with the political and economic situation of Malaya on the eve of independence and on the morrow of its accomplishment. Presumably Moorhead's second volume will close the gap between the two books.

In the first half of Moorhead's present volume Malaya makes barely more than an incidental appearance: the phrase "and her neighbours" was an appropriate addition to the title. This mode of presentation the author justifies on the two grounds that the sources for the early Malayan history are very meager and that the country did not begin to take on an independent existence until the emergence of Malacca in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Moorhead traces the unending rise and fall of Southeast Asian states and empires into which Malaya, as a whole or through some of its parts, was constantly being drawn. The presence of China and India as the great and overshadowing neighbors is felt throughout. In the second half of the volume the focus shifts to Malaya itself and to the era of Portuguese domination.

Internal evidence indicates that Moorhead has not attempted much in the way of research in the original sources but has relied upon the available secondary works, a number of which are listed in a short bibliography. The book, unencumbered with reference footnotes, is simply and straightforwardly written, and furnishes a useful guide through an inescapably complex and confused stretch of many centuries in which many peoples play a role.

The book by Mills, who has made a number of earlier contributions to our knowledge of Malaya and other Eastern territories, combines an account of recent developments with an appraisal of their meaning as a portent of the future of the country. For the most part it concerns itself with the political sphere and particularly with the always central issue of Malay-Chinese relations, but two concluding chapters, distinct in tone and subject matter from the rest, deal with economic matters. On the latter score, it is the fate of natural rubber that principally occupies Mills' attention. The general trend of his argument is pessimistic, including a suggestion that the efficient estates that will survive the competition of other areas and of synthetic rubber are likely to be predominantly European,

thus opening the way for an attack upon them by an Asian government and populace.

In his preface Mills denies the possibility of predicting whether the union at the top—the alliance of the three major communal parties that has swept recent Malayan elections—will eventually create a single Malayan people. A few pages later, however, he asserts that the Chinese and Indians will remain undigested lumps in the body politic. The most that can be hoped for, he believes, is that the three races will develop a mutual toleration for each other, intermingling without amalgamating. The very different response of the Malays and the Chinese to the challenge of the Communist rebellion, which is explored in some detail, indicates how far apart the two racial groups are on questions fundamental to Malaya's political life. The author has exercised a wise discretion in generally refraining from prophecy, but he has effectively called attention to a number of the dangers that lie ahead.

Harvard University

RUPERT EMERSON

American History

DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. Volume XXII, Supplement Two [to December 31, 1940]. Edited by *Robert Livingston Schuyler*. *Edward T. James*, Associate Editor. [Published under the Auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1958. Pp. viii, 745. \$15.00.)

THE second supplementary volume of the *Dictionary of American Biography* is ably edited by Robert Livingston Schuyler and Edward T. James. They had considerable assistance from the editor of the preceding volume, Dr. Harry Starr, who had continued gathering material for his successor. From a list of some two thousand names the editors, with "expert guidance," selected 585 names of those who died between January 1, 1936, and December 31, 1940.

This volume, even more than the first supplement, marks a departure from the first twenty volumes. Those volumes covered the whole range of American history. The subjects were for the most part truly historical, that is, beyond any living memory. They included the indisputably great who, like Franklin, challenged a Carl Becker to his best writing. The advisers were often state and local historians. They suggested an endless list of those who were outstanding in the history of a constantly advancing frontier. The nominees were first in starting a church, a college, a town, a territory, a business, or a railroad. They were the "fustest"—*ergo* the "mostest"—among the makers of a nation that produced also men of truly national and international fame.

This volume deals with a matured nation. Without being materialistic, its recurring exemplars are men of business and industry—those who provided ma-

terial things for a nation with a rising standard of living. Their expenditures for villas and townhouses and their cities and corporations in the lavish twenties account among other things for fourteen architects among the immortals in this five-year necrology. It is consistent with the above comment that the longest biographies are those of John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Mellon, by Allan Nevins. Unrestrained free enterprise is represented by Samuel Insull, whose financial wizardry is here only slightly overcast by the ruin he brought to thousands of little people. As a fugitive from justice, his lasting contribution was a boost to the formation of the Securities and Exchange Commission. There are further echoes of a disappearing age in the biographies of Justice Pierce Butler and Senator William Borah.

In the second place, the expert advisers for this volume were often colleagues, business associates, or pupils of the men nominated. My own life span covers in whole or in large part everyone of the entries. This permits me to say that the educator I knew best is inadequately and inaccurately treated. The writers are often drawn from those who knew their subject personally. *Who Was Who* is perhaps the most often cited reference and leaves its mark in form and content on many of the contributions, by biographers without professional experience.

The third differentiation is the increased appearance not only of industrialists and financiers but of movie actors, radio commentators, jazz musicians, blues singers, and even a booking agent. Here is where the editors have my sympathy. I can tolerate the chief comic in Mack Sennett's stable of custard pie slingers but I draw the line at a movie actress who died at twenty-six after having run through three husbands and whose chief contributions to American culture were a pronounced sex appeal and the vogue of platinum blond hair.

The death toll of historians is high; seventeen in these five years. The long account given J. F. Jameson by Waldo Leland is justified by the subject and the writer's treatment of him. The same may be said of Crane Brinton's analytical treatment of James Harvey Robinson and of Avery Craven's tracing of the career of William E. Dodd to its tragic conclusion. It may be noted that the three men most active in getting the *Dictionary* under way are covered in this volume: Jameson, Charles Haskins, and John Finley. Irving Dilliard maintains a consistently high level in his articles on journalists and commentators. Confessing a possible bias in knowing both author and subjects, I would name Helen Clape-sattle's account of the Doctors Mayo as a model of how to record achievement and make achievers live again.

The editors evidently instructed their contributors to humanize their subjects. There is the oft-recurring paragraphs about appearance and temperament. A surprising number were mild-voiced and even-tempered. If a storm arose it passed quickly. I found only one indisputable curmudgeon, a Scotsman who introduced Chicago to golf and made a profession of laying out courses. I was about to cite him as the only name from the world of sports when I found George

Wright of the old Cincinnati Red Legs, the first professional baseball player I ever heard of. My father was a medical student in Chicago in 1869-1870 and loved to tell how he responded to a call for a doctor when Wright was hit by a batted ball and wailed "It's me windpoipe, Dochter, I can't talk." He lived to be ninety and head of Wright and Ditson, makers of athletic goods. For many others the life story is relatively short and ends: "He died of a coronary thrombosis." These five years follow shortly on the strains of the Great Depression on businessmen and executives.

The problems faced by the editors of this volume suggest that the American Council of Learned Societies would be well advised to consider whether a volume every five years is necessary or whether each volume must approximate the pagination of the first series and cover nearly six hundred entries. Should not the growing number of national, sectional, and group necrologies make it easier for successive editors to apply standards appropriate to a national historical biography?

Washington, D. C.

GUY STANTON FORD

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE. By *Lucius Wilmerding, Jr.* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 224. \$5.00.)

THIS closely reasoned study of the electoral college devotes one-third of its pages to a historical survey and the remainder to an analysis of the present system and proposals of reform. The discussion of origins presents evidence to show that the founding fathers intended that the people as a body should choose the President, and that state legislatures in determining the method of choice and the electors in voting for President were not to be free agents. The somewhat misleading statement in the preface that the purpose of the Constitution "is, and has always been, to elevate to the executive chair the man who is the choice of the majority of the people in the nation as a whole," is qualified considerably later on. The bald fact that state legislatures were given unrestricted control of the method of choosing electors cannot be argued away. Nor is sufficient weight given to the fact that the framers of the Constitution were men of their century, fearful of turbulent majorities, believers in checks and balances, and chiefly concerned with creating an independent executive free from congressional, state, and direct popular control. The filtration process of election would, it was hoped, place in office an esteemed figure of "Continental" stature, not necessarily the voters' first choice.

Chapters dealing with the Twelfth Amendment and the various methods of choosing electors used in past elections complete the historical section. The rest of the book presents the case for reform beginning with an analysis of the unfairness and evils of the general ticket plurality system. Of reform proposals, direct popular vote is vetoed as impracticable; the proportional voting system allotting electoral votes according to party strength within states is rejected as introducing

the principle of ideological representation, which might lead to its application to congressional representation; election by geographical districts is regarded as the most feasible and most democratic solution.

The author is least convincing when he deals with the problem of creating districts of equal population and composed of contiguous and compact territory. Even if this were solved, the minority might still be badly underrepresented because of the geographical distribution of party votes.

In an appendix are Article II, Section One of the Constitution, the Twelfth Amendment, and a model amendment for a district system. There is no bibliography, but footnotes are supplied for significant facts. The book is a valuable contribution to the understanding of a difficult problem.

Ohio State University

EUGENE H. ROSEBOOM

THE SUPREME COURT AS FINAL ARBITER IN FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONS, 1789-1957. By *John R. Schmidhauser*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 241. \$5.00.)

THIS study undertakes to do two things: to inquire into the historical origins of the Supreme Court's role as the arbiter of federal-state relations, and to analyze the "manner in which the Court fulfilled this role."

Professor Schmidhauser is an unqualified nationalist; he believes that the Constitutional Convention of 1787 specifically intended to establish the Supreme Court as arbiter of federal-state relations and that the "record of history unequivocally demolishes" all contrary arguments. He marshalls his evidence very clearly: Madison, Wilson, and the other nationalist delegates tried desperately to win convention approval for congressional disallowance of state laws. Failing in this objective, they accepted Luther Martin's proposal to incorporate in the Constitution the supremacy clause from the Paterson Plan, with its provision for judicial review by state judges. The author argues, with some supporting evidence, that the delegates understood perfectly that this would make the Supreme Court, through the medium of appeals, the final arbiter of the constitutional system.

This reviewer, himself an unabashed nationalist, cannot quite quell all his doubts. Why were Madison, Hamilton, and Wilson, if they understood clearly the role the Court would now play, so bitterly disappointed in this compromise? Why were the states' rights men so satisfied with it? An argument by logical inference can be advanced that the supremacy clause of necessity required appeals to the federal judiciary, but was this generally understood by the delegates? Is it not rather that presently "a light dawned" on the nationalists, who, seeing the implications of a system of appeals, first drove home the point in *The Federalist*, and then consummated their objective in the Judiciary Act of 1789?

The author also presents an exceedingly competent brief historical survey of

the Court's actual work as constitutional arbiter. Essentially this amounts to a history of constitutional law from Jay and Ellsworth to Stone, Vinson, and Warren. This material, judiciously selected and concisely treated, contains few surprises. At the end the author concurs in Justice Holmes's celebrated observation that without the Court's review of state legislation "the Union would be imperiled." He concedes that the pragmatic character of American politics and the ever-present political implications of "judicial statesmanship" make periodic attacks on the Court more or less inevitable. But judicial restraint "carried to its logical conclusion" would mean the end of the Court's role as federal arbiter, an "abdication" which "hardly seems likely after over a century and one half of evolutionary growth and acceptance of judicial power."

Wayne State University

ALFRED H. KELLY

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE. By *Paul P. Van Riper*. (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Company. 1958. Pp. xvii, 588. \$7.50.)

"A time may come," wrote H. G. Wells, "when history, grown more penetrating, will have more to tell about clerks and less about conquerors." That Wells's prediction has been partially realized is largely the result of the monumental labors of Leonard D. White, to whom this book is dedicated. White first interested Professor Van Riper (now of Cornell's Graduate School of Business and Public Administration) in the history of the United States civil service, and this volume grew out of their association.

Based upon an exhaustive study of printed primary and secondary sources, Van Riper's book is an important addition to the literature of administrative history. Its importance rests not on its treatment of the civil service prior to 1901, for there it parallels the studies of White and Carl Russell Fish, but upon its intense coverage of the twentieth century. In these recent years, the civil service has multiplied in size, functions, and complexity. Van Riper carefully traces this growth and assesses how well the service has functioned from time to time. His emphasis on the twentieth century (composing a major portion of the book) makes his work a sequel to White's volumes.

Van Riper's main thesis is that American bureaucracy is "broadly representative" in personnel, ideas, and practices of the society it serves. Thus the civil service of the Federalists and Jeffersonians mirrored a conservative and aristocratic voting public. Later when the civil service failed to reflect the growing individualism and equalitarianism of Jacksonian democracy, the spoils system adjusted it to ruder tastes. But when the spoils system became the stronghold of a new aristocracy it was overthrown by the merit system, which created an honest, competent, and stable civil service. In the twentieth century, government service reflects the business world's ideals of economy and efficiency by periodic reforms,

but occasional crises have brought federal intervention and a larger, more powerful, and more centralized civil service. The Eisenhower administration, however, is a "great watershed in American political development" since it has reversed the trend toward a rigid, centralized bureaucracy. In brief, the United States has integrated the extremes of a Weberian "coldly rationalistic, deterministic," totalitarian, "punishment-centered" bureaucracy with a Hayekian elimination of all bureaucracy. To keep the United States in the middle of the bureaucratic road, Van Riper suggests that we continue to decentralize personnel functions into the hands of line administrators and place more stress on individual dignity and creativity and less stress on "control systems designed more to prevent than to produce." Having optimistically dispatched Weber, Van Riper pessimistically warns of a new threat to our government—military bureaucracy.

A few of Van Riper's conclusions are open to question. It can be argued, for example, that the civil service is and has been unrepresentative of American society. Whether leaders of the civil service reform movement were motivated by equalitarian ideals, as this book states, is also questionable; for their private correspondence suggests that they were contemptuous of democracy. Some historians will object to the recurring equation of economic individualism with the Protestant ethic. Others will question this book's association of totalitarianism with a centralized closed career service, since the latter frequently is championed as an effective balance of the business and military "power elite." It is, however, to Van Riper's credit that he has related developments in the public service to the larger social order; and these criticisms should not obscure his significant contribution to our knowledge of American public administration in the twentieth century.

Pennsylvania State University

ARI HOOGENBOOM

PATRICK HENRY: PATRIOT IN THE MAKING. By *Robert Douthat Meade*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1957. Pp. x, 431. \$7.50.)

THIS is the first of a two-volume biography of Patrick Henry, the elusive, restless, and gifted politician and orator whose capsule pronouncements on liberty and tyranny stud at least one page in every American history textbook. Mr. Meade is a patient researcher. He has culled a considerable number of private papers but after more than twelve years of research he cannot claim to have "uncovered a *trouvaille*, a major unpublished collection of Henry material." He visited all the places Patrick Henry frequented; he also made a conscientious pilgrimage to England and Scotland in order to study the records of Henry's forefathers; and he has interviewed countless Virginia ladies and gentlemen, who may have some gossip to transmit about "the American Demosthenes." We may feel confident, then, that the record of what Henry did and whom he knew and what various contemporaries and later historians have had to say about him are all to be canvassed for this study.

Since the author employs his "thousands of bits" of researched material in the hope of forming "a new, clearer and more variegated picture of Patrick Henry," we must ask what this new picture is. Meade's most obvious point is that Patrick Henry came from a family of Hanover County gentry, that his schooling was derived from private tutoring by his University-trained father, and that he never was a rough and unkempt tavernkeeper. There is, moreover, an odd storehouse of information about Patrick Henry's kinsfolk and other contemporary Virginians. And there is much concern with shades of social prestige in Virginia families from the Tidewater, Piedmont, and mountain counties. Yet in all this array of bits, we are never put in touch with a man. We never catch Patrick Henry in a personal moment, whether of feeling or contemplation, or intellectual discovery. We hear him at a distance, in the forum, and even then not in the true accents of his own speech but in the varying, sometimes widely different, accounts of those who heard him, or heard about him.

To be sure, the author makes a series of claims for Patrick Henry. Henry made a startling local effect in the "Parson's Cause," when he argued against the right of the Anglican clergy to appeal to the crown to override a law of the Virginia Assembly. This episode was a landmark in the movement for legislative autonomy for the colonies. It was the first occasion where Henry's vehement speech drew cries of treason. Two years later in the famous Stamp Act debate, this cry arose again. Meade works hard to reestablish the traditional account of Henry's Stamp Act speech since the only surviving eyewitness account, by a French traveler, does not agree with it, reporting that Henry's reaction to the cry of treason was to beg pardon and affirm loyalty to His Majesty, King George III.

From these two dramatic performances by Patrick Henry, we are led to infer his growing influence as leader of the more democratic sentiment of the back-country people. We are encouraged to believe that Henry was "a flaming apostle of liberty," "a founding father, one of the great men of history." But an "apostle of liberty" must prove himself more than merely a natural-born politician, eloquent, expedient, and calculating his own advancement. He must, at the very least, give evidence of belief in what he advocates. Perhaps Henry was in truth more, but the evidence is not given us here. Certain personal traits of avarice and hard and canny business practices, moreover, disturb the intended effect of a man of heroic mold and magnanimous heart. Finally, the employment of a Turner-like equation of back-country experience with democratic influence is not wholly satisfactory. Meade himself concedes that aristocratic gentlemen like Richard Henry Lee, Washington, and George Mason were ready to take leadership.

This first volume ends with an almost joyous description of the differences between the three great Virginia leaders in the First Continental Congress. While Lee felt that the Americans would secure their rights from Britain without war, and Washington was "in doubt," Henry was mentally prepared for a final break with England and felt it would be necessary to fight. Indeed, there is no doubt

that one of the reputed sayings of Henry quoted near the end of this volume is an impressive, very early evidence of American nationalism. "The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders, are no more," Henry said. "I am not a Virginian, but an American." The second volume will have to ponder this pronouncement, for the irony of Henry's development after the Revolution may be that he was in fact more the Virginia politician than the American statesman.

University of California, Berkeley

ADRIENNE KOCH

WE THE PEOPLE: THE ECONOMIC ORIGINS OF THE CONSTITUTION. By *Forrest McDonald*. [Publication of the American History Research Center, Madison, Wis.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1958. Pp. x, 436. \$7.00.)

THOUGH not the first of its tenor to have been recently published, *We the People* embodies conclusions that may still strike many as incredible. These conclusions, however, rest upon research more extensive than any other that has yet been devoted to the subject. They can be summed up thus:

The Constitutional Convention of 1787 was a fair cross-section of the geographical areas and political factions of the country. The members of that body were not a cohesive group moved by an identity of economic concern. Their votes did not indicate an alliance of personalty interests against those of realty. The members who held public securities disagreed over the issue of paying the war debt. Indeed the provision for this was made almost as an afterthought prompted in part by members who held no securities at all. In the process of ratification no line of cleavage appeared between personalty interests and the interests of small farmers and debtors; nor were public securities "the dynamic element within the dynamic element" that brought ratification about.

This summary explains why McDonald will cause a rustling of the leaves in the academic grove. For years Charles A. Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* has been a classic in the canon of those scriptures held almost by common consent to reveal the meaning of America to priesthood and laity alike. In 1956 Robert E. Brown's trenchant analysis, *Charles Beard and the Constitution*, provoked serious doubt whether Beard's volume deserved such reverence. Obviously McDonald strengthens that doubt. In his preface he flatly asserts that "economic interpretation of the Constitution does not work."

It is clear, however, that he is not content with a proposition so categorial. In his final chapter he states four hypotheses on which he believes that a satisfactory explanation for the making of the Constitution may be predicated. One of these, taken at random, is the supposition that the contest over ratification may have been a struggle, perhaps several struggles, for political power, "with some-

thing other than economic interests as the primary driving force." McDonald thinks it "axiomatic that any political faction or party seeking to acquire or retain political power must . . . strive for the support of various economic groups that are of political weight. The contending political groups," he continues, "can thus be thought of as the dynamic elements in the contests, seeking support from the population at large through appeals to economic self-interest, real or imagined . . . and actually determining the outcome in this way. The result of the contest would then seem . . . to have turned largely upon the anticipated effects of the Constitution on economic interests." Thus it is apparent that though reduced to a secondary place, such interests figure conspicuously in this hypothesis, even if one concedes that power in politics may be an end in itself quite apart from the economic benefits for which it is often sought. In view of some of the great historical developments in our time, this concession can be made easily; but it does not wholly exclude economic considerations or fully support the thesis that economic interpretation does not work. In the very hypothesis here summarized that interpretation is present; and it is present also in the other three.

If, then, McDonald intends to use any of these hypotheses in the further work that he proposes, he will hardly "be able to avoid" as he hopes to do, "the shadow of Mr. Beard"; for where any American historian concedes that the basis of politics is even partly economic, there that shadow will lie for some time to come.

Such reflections suggest that it may be premature to drop Beard's book from the canon forthwith; but its position there is less secure than we once believed it to be. McDonald along with Brown has shaken it severely. While the tremors last, ingenious effort will be required to steady that distinctive image of plutocracy set up by Beard as the chief agent for establishing the Constitution.

University of Buffalo

JOHN T. HORTON

A YANKEE'S ODYSSEY: THE LIFE OF JOEL BARLOW. By *James Woodress*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1958. Pp. 347. \$5.95.)

JOEL Barlow was a member of one of the most talented classes that were graduated from Yale in the eighteenth century, a class (1778) that included Oliver Wolcott and Noah Webster. Barlow, as his life unfolds in this expertly written biography, was the most exciting of the lot.

His early career was much like that of his contemporaries: a year of school-teaching, a spell as chaplain in the revolutionary army, marriage to a sister of Abraham Baldwin (a classmate), a fling at publishing a newspaper, the production of a large amount of mediocre poetry, a try at the law. After this kind of beginning a college graduate of the period usually settled down to become a lawyer, merchant, or clergyman. Barlow did not. In 1788 he went to France to get rich quickly as agent of the Scioto Associates. When that venture failed, he earned success as journalist, businessman, and diplomat. As journalist he worked with his friend Thomas Paine for the cause of republican government inside and outside

France. As businessman he went to Hamburg in 1794, came back to Paris the next year with a small fortune, and for the rest of his life was able to live from his investments. As diplomat he negotiated the redemption of American captives from Algiers. He also tried his hand at amateur diplomacy in the manner of George Logan, seeking to prevent war between the United States and France. He patronized the early work of Robert Fulton, and Fulton became so much a part of the Barlow household that both Barlows were insulted when Fulton married. When Barlow finally returned to the United States in 1805, he was welcomed by Jefferson and acted the role of a youthful elder statesman until President Madison sent him as minister to France. It was on this mission that he died.

Professor Woodress, who has studied the voluminous manuscript and published sources, including the newly acquired Barlow papers at Harvard, tells the story with unusual clarity and economy. He makes short work of Barlow's poetry, which he considers mostly beyond redemption, and devotes himself instead to the man's public career. Though Barlow did not stand in the center of the stage at any point, he was often close to it, and this judicious, sympathetic, and altogether readable study conveys much of the excitement of an exceedingly stormy period. No remarkable new interpretations emerge; but Barlow's career, carried on over three continents, is itself a revealing comment on his age.

Yale University

EDMUND S. MORGAN

BANKS AND POLITICS IN AMERICA FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE CIVIL WAR. By *Bray Hammond*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 771. \$12.50.)

It is perhaps no coincidence that Mr. Hammond's assault on the Jacksonian mythology should appear at the same time as other attacks upon Charles A. Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*. That older as well as younger scholars are devoting themselves to a critical re-examination of the Populist postulates upon which so much twentieth-century writing in American history has been based is a sign that solid scholarship must in the long run dictate our historical judgments.

Revisionists of Beard and revisionists of the Jacksonian period have found a common bond. They have discovered that debtors were not poor farmers, but usually were substantial businessmen. Until fairly well along in the nineteenth century, in fact, farmers did not wish to borrow and lenders did not consider agriculture a very good credit risk. As Hammond points out, the complaints of debtors were not that their debts were too heavy but that borrowing was not easy enough. In fact, between the paper money agitation of colonial days and the Populism of the end of the nineteenth century there was neither parallel nor continuity; "no parallel," Hammond asserts, "because one was commercial and the other agrarian—no continuity, even if a parallel be assumed, because the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian agrarians were a rigidly hard-money lot."

Hammond's is a Hamiltonian book, and some Jeffersonians and most Jacksonians will not like it. He shows that Jefferson had no conception of the functions of banking, but that as a practical politician he deemed it "material to the safety of Republicanism to detach the mercantile interest from its enemies and incorporate them into the body of its friends," and favored "making all the banks Republican by sharing deposits among them in proportion to the disposition they show" [Jefferson to Gallatin, July 12, 1803]. Having brilliantly advanced business enterprise, the Federalists after 1800 could no longer dominate it, and their young men, among them two of Alexander Hamilton's sons, flocked into Jefferson's camp and later into that of Jackson. The success of the Republicans in winning friends among capitalists explains some strange anomalies. A substantial segment of agrarians favored the first Bank of the United States, while important businessmen like John Jacob Astor and Jacob Barker opposed it. On the other hand, the Second Bank was opposed by the Federalists as a party and favored by the Jeffersonians, who found a national bank as essential as had the Federalists twenty-five years before.

The heart of Hammond's study deals with the great assault on the Second Bank. Here his treatment differs in some respects from both that of Catterall and the more recent study of Walter B. Smith. The latter's treatment is primarily economic, whereas Hammond, although an economist, treats the issues mainly from their political angles. Hammond gives greater stress than did Catterall to the concept of central banking, whose key function is the regulation of bank credit. To Hammond the Bank was a pioneer institution anticipating the Federal Reserve Banks. As a federal institution it stood too much in the way of credit expansion to suit popular interests, and as a Philadelphia bank it kept the financial center of the country in that city long after it should have moved to Wall Street. Its effective adversaries were not debt-ridden farmers but businessmen and rival bankers. In the earlier and unpolitical part of his career Nicholas Biddle is found by the author to have directed the Bank with competence in the performance of a rounded and complete banking function. That he proved under pressure a maladroit politician should not, Hammond argues persuasively, detract from his capable performance as a central banker.

If the author's sympathies are on the side of Biddle, his scorn is reserved for Taney, whom he indicts as legalistic, demagogic, and disingenuous. The author believes that Jackson and Taney did irreparable harm to banking and credit. The destruction of the Bank ended federal regulation of bank credit and shifted the money center of the country from Chestnut Street to Wall Street. "It left the poor agrarian as poor as he had been before and it left the money power possessed of more money and more power than ever." The author reaffirms the judgment of Walter B. Smith that "probably never since 1789 had the United States had a dollar which was sounder or more stable" than in the period from 1826 to 1832.

In so massive a work minor errors of fact or interpretation are to be expected, but they seem relatively few indeed. John Sullivan was not in the Continental

Congress in 1779. As Walter Hugins has shown in his recent study of "The New York Workingmen and Jacksonian Democracy," it is an oversimplification to suggest, as Hammond does, that the Locofocos were an urban and industrial phase of traditional agrarianism. Some were; others visualized an expanding economy with no limits to individual enterprise. Both groups, however, were against privilege.

Hammond has lingered long in the vineyard and his harvest is rich. He is a man of stout opinions and some of them will not prove readily digestible in all circles. But his technical competence and vast erudition combine to make this monograph a major landmark in the writings on our early national history.

Columbia University

RICHARD B. MORRIS

THE REPUBLICAN ERA, 1869-1901: A STUDY IN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY. By *Leonard D. White*, with the assistance of *Jean Schneider*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1958. Pp. ix, 406. \$6.00.)

THIS is no history of the Republican party as the title might suggest but a treatise on administration of the federal government during a generation when most Americans were professed Republicans. Teachers of public administration have long been indebted to the late Professor White for his penetrating interpretation of public administration presented through his teaching and writings. His classroom lectures were often interrupted by calls to the public service; the culmination was a term as a United States Civil Service Commissioner. This volume, covering the period from Grant's inauguration to the end of McKinley's administration, is the fourth of a series dealing with the subject since Washington's administration.

A thread running through the works as a whole is the persistent struggle between President and Congress for the control of administration. This volume covers the period from the near eclipse of the presidency by Congress in the impeachment of Andrew Johnson to the turn of the century. If Congress could have had its way it might have reduced the President's administration of law to purely ministerial functions. A chapter is devoted to each executive department and several to the struggle for civil service reform and the new personnel system.

The statement: "The official climate altered abruptly when Hayes became President," is White's way of marking the transition from Grant's maladministration. In contrast with Grant's subservience to the Senate, Hayes's resolute firmness twice frustrated the proud Senate on the power of appointment and removal despite the Tenure of Office Act. Cleveland likewise frustrated the Senate, as did Garfield also, though virtually at the price of his life. White's admiration for Garfield as the outstanding post-Civil War congressman is unconcealed.

The spoils system was gradually giving way under the persistent pressure of the civil service reformers. Indeed, only reform prevented the almost certain collapse of administration by 1900. By the 1880's professors were being intro-

duced into the federal service; by the next decade college graduates were supplanting the civil servants who had only an elementary school education and anti-intellectualism was being slowly overcome. Machines began taking the place of the copy clerks.

Footnotes reveal the sources—statutes, the *Congressional Record*, congressional committee reports, autobiographies, memoirs, and especially the diaries of Hayes and Garfield. White notes McKinley's restoration of presidential leadership. "A Rip Van Winkle, stirring into consciousness at the end of McKinley's first term, would have found relative satisfaction in the state of the administration." Marked progress had been made in a generation.

Ohio Northern University

WILFRED E. BINKLEY

THE YEAR 2000: A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF EDWARD BELLAMY.

By Sylvia E. Bowman. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1958. Pp. 404. \$6.00.)

Dr. Bowman has studied the Bellamy Papers at Harvard, letters and a journal still in the possession of Bellamy's daughter, and all of his known publications, including many unsigned articles and book reviews. Consequently she is able to show the antecedents of many of the ideas he put into his two novels delineating an ideal society in the United States in A.D. 2000, *Looking Backward* (1888) and *Equality* (1897). In an extended discussion of the society Bellamy predicted, Dr. Bowman reveals his efforts to meet criticisms of *Looking Backward* by spelling out or modifying his predictions in the sequel and in his periodical pieces. Also, in angling for the maximum number of respectable converts to his cause, he censored himself, notably his views on love, marriage, and childrearing. This study points out that he did not regard his novels as utopian at all; he thought he was merely carrying to the inevitable and Christian conclusion—the national government as the sole employer—the trend toward economic concentration that was so marked a feature of his own age. Dr. Bowman also summarizes Bellamy's telling retort to the accusation that his industrial army, obligatory for nearly all citizens between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five, was less democratic than occupational choice in a free enterprise system.

Dr. Bowman's labors were doubtless great, but the results are disappointingly slight. There is material for a couple of good articles, but not enough for a book; little important information is added to what can be learned from Bellamy's three best-known novels and the earlier studies by Arthur E. Morgan. Nor is this volume the "critical biography" it claims to be. Since Bellamy tried to picture all facets of his ideal society, an evaluation of his ideas would involve testing them by our current knowledge in the humanities, in all of the social sciences, and in several fields of biology. No such effort is made. The author does not analyze, for instance, Bellamy's confusion of wage rates with labor costs in his discussion of international trade, or his gross underestimation of the powers of chauvinistic

nationalism, or his assumptions about human nature and society. But she does chide him for overlooking "the fact that economics had little to do with the presence of nymphomaniacs," whatever the significance of that may be.

Dr. Bowman's literary style seems to me verbose, repetitious, and turgid. The phrasing is sometimes so clumsy that the author says what she surely cannot mean. For example: "Since all of the manuscripts and journals . . . were not read by Mr. Morgan. . . ." Did he in fact not read any? But she admits that he did. *Looking Backward* is enlightening, and it is fun to read. But reading this study of Bellamy is a chore.

New York City

RAY GINGER

HOKE SMITH AND THE POLITICS OF THE NEW SOUTH. By Dewey W.

Grantham, Jr. [Southern Biography Series.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1958. Pp. 396. \$5.00.)

WHEN Hoke Smith in 1911 began his nine-year career as United States senator, he had already achieved prominence as Secretary of the Interior in Cleveland's second administration and as a progressive governor of Georgia. To call him, as did one magazine at the time, "the La Follette of Georgia" would be somewhat misleading. Professor Grantham's definitive biography clearly depicts Smith as a symbol of "the strength and the limitations of the more aggressive Southern liberals."

Born in North Carolina in 1855, Smith came to Atlanta as a youth of sixteen and very quickly identified himself with that hustling city of the New South. While winning success and fortune as a damage lawyer, he became increasingly interested in politics. His public career falls into three phases. In the 1890's, as publisher of the *Atlanta Journal*, the young lawyer successfully worked for Cleveland and tariff reform against the protectionist opposition of his lifelong enemy, the *Atlanta Constitution*. The Democrats' repudiation of Cleveland in 1896 began a period of political exile for Smith. In 1906, however, with the aid of Tom Watson and a platform of Negro disfranchisement, he was elected governor by a decisive vote over a number of opponents, including Clark Howell, editor of the *Constitution*. Defeated by conservative Joseph M. Brown in 1908, Smith was re-elected governor in 1910 but resigned after a few months in office to take his seat in the United States Senate. There he supported Woodrow Wilson's early New Freedom program but took issue with the President on such questions as labor legislation, extensive wartime powers, and the League question.

This study not only presents a detailed and well-organized account of a commanding political figure's career, but also sheds much light on Georgia politics from the days of the Bourbon triumvirate through the progressive period. Discussions of Smith's two stays in Washington illuminate numerous interesting aspects of national problems and policies. As governor, Smith fought most vigorously to

curb railroad powers and abuses but also gave his support to the education crusade, abolition of convict leasing, prohibition, and other reforms. Like some other Southern progressives, however, he identified himself increasingly with the white supremacy movement; the author concludes that "except in matters of race, Smith was a genuine reform governor."

Grantham has done a meticulous job in tracing his subject's career chronologically. The work is thoroughly documented in the best scholarly manner, with a wide variety of citations to manuscript, newspaper, and documentary sources. It is unfortunate that the bulk of Hoke Smith's own papers were destroyed. They would undoubtedly have further clarified such developments as the break with Henry W. Grady, early friendship with John B. Gordon, and turbulent relations with Tom Watson. Although the author is eminently fair in his judgments and recognizes many shortcomings in his subject, the reader senses an underlying admiration for this vigorous and successful politician. For the most part Grantham confines his efforts to a thorough and lucid account of his subject's public life and eschews fine-spun theories or interpretations. He concludes that although Hoke Smith was a "constructive political leader," there was "far greater promise than fulfillment."

University of Houston

ALLEN J. GOING

THE UNITED STATES NAVY IN THE PACIFIC, 1897-1909. By *William Reynolds Braisted*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 282. \$5.00.)

THIS work begins by chiding scholars for neglecting the Navy Department records and ignoring the influence of sea power on American objectives in the Far East. The naval historian certainly can profit from this admonition, but as to sea power the evidence produced here is negative and does not change the standard interpretations or conclusions of the diplomatic historian. The author finds that the United States, between 1898 and the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, pursued three major naval policies: to build an Asiatic fleet, to obtain an advanced base on the coast of China, and to establish a major war base in the Philippines, all of which failed. The Japanese victory changed the strategic picture to such an extent that the Navy withdrew its capital ships to the Atlantic and settled on Pearl Harbor for its main base, while Roosevelt sought to freeze the situation in the Pacific by secret agreements with Japan. There was, moreover, the German threat to the Monroe Doctrine, which forced the authorities to concentrate on the defense of the Caribbean and discouraged a more active role in Asian affairs.

The role of the Navy as the strong right arm of diplomacy in the Far East was also unimpressive. Its support of our most important policy, the Open Door, was "almost wholly moral," while its impact in other directions was equally restricted.

It would be difficult to prove, says the author, that the Navy "decisively influenced the outcome of any major American diplomatic action in Asia from the Boxer outbreak to the Russo-Japanese War." The world cruise, he agrees with Roosevelt, was a resounding if carefully prepared diplomatic triumph.

Nevertheless, if the book falls short of making a contribution to the literature of power politics, it is an interesting study of the detailed operations of the Navy in relation to the problems that confronted the country in the Far East. A careful examination of the pertinent naval records in the National Archives has yielded a body of information culled from ship movements, reports of commanding officers and naval attachés, and views of high naval authorities on matters of grand strategy that the author collates with the diplomatic efforts of the State Department and the zeal of Roosevelt on behalf of American interests in the Orient. Controversial matters are muted or ignored, and some of the generalizations do not bear close scrutiny, such as the statement that the Navy in 1909 was probably second to none in technical proficiency. It was the bitter public controversy over this matter that gave Roosevelt so much concern and resulted in the famous Newport Conference of November, 1908. The book itself is handsomely printed, properly footnoted, and free from minor blunders except for the reference to Secretary of the Navy Moody, a Massachusetts congressman, as an "able New York lawyer."

Washington, D. C.

Seward W. Livermore

THE AMERICAN BUSINESS SYSTEM: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, 1900-1955. By *Thomas C. Cochran*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 227. \$4.75.)

THIS timely volume is a further ornament to the distinguished Library of Congress Series in American Civilization and a notable contribution to recent American history. It recounts the achievements of the American economy over the years 1900-1955 and focuses attention on the changing role of "business," which the author defines as "a social institution for creating and distributing goods and services for profit."

Among the elements whose interaction brought about the enormous increases in output per capita, labor productivity, and per capita personal income, Cochran cites the play of technology on resources, "which sets the potential forms and levels of production," the operation of manufacturing industry "that accounts for the vast flow of products," the levels of saving and investment, the character of businessmen and their institutions, the rise of the welfare state, and changing conceptions of "the social place and responsibility of business." Each of these constituents is examined in turn, and two of the resulting chapters, "Fundamentals of Business Change" and "Patterns of Capital and Industry," should be made required reading in every business school and seminar in American studies.

Cochran divides his study around 1929, the date that marks the rapid decline of an older confidence in the self-regulating economy. Since that time, he avers, political and economic activity have been drawn together in an increasingly "centralized, militarized, welfare-directed state." For all its imperfections, this new complex of widely dispersed ownership, career-minded management, public initiative, and higher average levels of living "is more stable than the old-style pre-1929 capitalism"; the author seems to prefer the relative moderation practiced under the aegis of governmental and organization bureaucrats to that preached in hectoring sermons by T. R. and the early Progressives.

The importance of this book lies not so much in the novelty of its pronouncements as in its masterly synthesis of materials from economic and business history with those of other disciplines: economics, administration, and the study of culture. It attempts to set the changing forms and styles of business activity "in their essential relationship to technological and industrial change, and to suggest some of the interactions of the whole complex with the rest of American civilization." The author is concerned, therefore, with the role of business in the culture. Despite a generally optimistic temper, he has misgivings about the influence of "business dogmatism" in democratic politics, foreign affairs, and areas of public life where market values are no sufficient criteria of worth. While he agrees that the business of America is largely business, he implies that it is less so than in former times because the business environment has radically changed. He would not concur with the recent remark of billionaire J. P. Getty that the nation's only hope is its businessmen: "Without the business man what have you got left in the United States?" (*New York Times*, Oct. 28, 1957). On business-historical grounds alone, Cochran shows that such fatuous claims can be denied, that there is more to the business system than simply businessmen and enterprise. Unlike inspirational historians who attribute social and economic progress to the heroic leadership of business magnates, or the scientific corporation chroniclers who impute to them the wise decision-making of expert entrepreneurs, Cochran maintains that three or four partly distinct business systems operating (with local and regional variations) within the broader culture are responsible for successes and failures alike. Slowly, grudgingly, and sometimes incompletely, the businessmen have adjusted "to inevitable changes in the social and political complexion of the country." A corollary of this mature point of view is that neither politicians nor professors may any longer declare open season on the businessmen.

In a work of such scope differences of interpretation are bound to arise. Most observers will agree that variations in levels of government expenditures on defense and consumer outlays on durables are major elements of instability in the new business system. A majority will share the author's skepticism about benefits that accrue to small business from legalized price control. This reader does not share Cochran's optimism regarding opportunities for small manufacturers, nor does he agree that changes in wholesaling channels have not helped

revolutionize the process of distribution. He wishes the author had attempted a bolder analysis of the collapse of 1929. But most of the book's shortcomings stem from the terms of reference and constrictions of space. The author has had to omit consideration of agriculture and organized labor, two areas in which the failings of the system are patent. One hopes that Cochran will use the present volume as a preliminary to a larger and more comprehensive study of the entire social economy.

Smith College

ERIC E. LAMPARD

THE SUPREME COURT FROM TAFT TO WARREN. By *Alpheus Thomas Mason*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1958. Pp. xv, 250. \$4.95.)

IN these, the Edward Douglass White Lectures delivered at Louisiana State University in 1957, Professor Alpheus Thomas Mason traces briefly but cogently the general history of the Supreme Court over the last quarter century, and elaborates an interesting if not altogether consistent thesis concerning the proper role that body should play in the American system of government.

Taking as his point of departure recent right-wing attacks engendered by such rulings as those in *Brown*, *Watkins*, and *Yates*, he compares these with the left-wing attacks on the pre-1937 Court and then goes back to give the historical rationale for a strong judiciary, agreeing essentially with Professor Corwin's aphorism that in the minds of the founding fathers this was a necessary device to enable "American democracy to cover its bet"—a means of safeguarding individual rights against the excesses of popular power. Mason then analyzes the way the Court has been able to make its rulings despite its obvious handicap of having neither purse nor sword. It is this approach to its most serious operational problem and the way the Court has confronted this challenge that forms the overall leitmotiv of the lectures.

Well into the twentieth century, Mason finds the Court embracing the "cult of the robe" as one of its chief weapons of power. In fact the mechanical theory of the judicial process still has defenders, and T. R. Powell's recent comment that "denials of power are most categorical when its exercise is most patent" is cited with approval. Yet the author sees a refreshing tendency, beginning in the 1930's, toward a candid acknowledgement of their own partisan function coming from numerous justices—a growing tendency to admit that social and economic factors do and should influence the Court. He, unlike Pusey in the doting biography that he cites frequently, is critical of Hughes for not acceding but rather for almost obsessively seeking to preserve the Court's symbolic function at the expense of social advance. His hero Chief Justice Stone did better, Mason believes, in frankly taking off the robes of Olympian protection. But Mason also points out the danger

of such action, and the necessity, once taken, of avoiding situations that might bring the Court into disfavor when so thoroughly disarmed.

The Warren Court has taken the same tack, admitting that its function is no longer the revelation of immutable truth, but rather the molding of national policy. It no longer feels bound rigidly by decisions of the past or by strictly legal arguments but will listen to the sociologist, the economist, and the political scientist as well as to the lawyer; in Warren's words, it will "apply to ever changing conditions the never changing principles of freedom." But such a role, without the protection of the traditional symbolic protective coloring, is dangerous, and invites the type of bitter attack we have recently witnessed.

Mason feels the gamble worth taking, assuming as he does that the public needs to mature in its understanding of the function of the Court. He feels at the same time, however, that the Court must use all its influence to accomplish desired social ends. The question arises whether scrapping an efficient tool, even though it be mumbo-jumbo, is not an unnecessary act of self-denial, particularly at a time when the judiciary seems unlikely to get great support from either of the other two branches of the government in its zeal for social justice.

Northwestern University

PAUL L. MURPHY

WHAT ROOSEVELT THOUGHT: THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. By *Thomas H. Greer*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1958. Pp. xv, 244. \$5.00.)

It has been no easy task for Professor Greer to delineate the thought of as agile-minded a politician who for so many years talked and wrote so much about so wide a variety of subjects as did Franklin D. Roosevelt. From the *Public Papers and Addresses* and the voluminous printed materials and the vastly more voluminous manuscripts in the Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York, Greer has distilled a relatively brief study of Roosevelt's social and political ideas. These he has presented systematically in a topical arrangement covering religion and philosophy, the state, government and the economy, the constitutional system, the presidency, politics, education, the press, and foreign policy.

The table of contents and the index enable the reader to find the essence of what Roosevelt thought about innumerable subjects. Because of the brevity, the book will not be especially useful as a thesaurus for those seeking lengthy Roosevelt quotations. Greer, for example, has been able to devote only two pages to conservation, a subject about which Roosevelt thought and talked so much that a part of the materials at the Roosevelt Library fill two volumes recently edited by Dr. Edgar Nixon.

Greer analyzes what Roosevelt stated in press conferences, wrote in letters, or declared in speeches. Quite correctly (in the view of this reviewer) he attributes to Roosevelt whatever he stated in a speech, no matter who drafted it, since

"the important statements uttered by Roosevelt were in the last analysis his own and bore his peculiar stamp." Often Greer explains how Roosevelt came to arrive at a certain position. His approach to Roosevelt is friendly but adequately objective; he does not try to obscure or ignore certain positions Roosevelt later abandoned. On Roosevelt's early friendly feelings toward Mussolini, there is a memorandum the President prepared for Douglas Southall Freeman in 1939: "It should be remembered during those years Mussolini still maintained a semblance of parliamentary government, and there were many, including myself, who hoped that having restored order and morale in Italy, he would, of his own accord, work toward a restoration of democratic processes." Again, in the 1932 campaign, Roosevelt quoted with approval Coolidge's recommendation that even a wisely led party, if in office so long that it fails to express the will of the people, should be replaced by the other party. By the time the *Public Papers and Addresses* appeared in 1938, Roosevelt had reason to feel differently. Greer points out that the passage disappeared from the speech, with only an ellipsis to indicate its omission.

This study is of value to those who wish to examine in brief compass the main ideas of a major political leader of the twentieth century, who was born in the genteel tradition of the nineteenth century, served his political apprenticeship in the Progressive era, and through his position and words became the symbol of the New Deal. Greer, out of his careful selection and sifting of evidence, arrives at this summation of Roosevelt: "He was a builder. He gave strength to Western ideals and institutions. He was a positive force in history because of a rare conjuncture in human affairs: a man of high purpose, imagination, and courage was presented with great opportunity and power. That was his rendezvous with destiny."

Harvard University

FRANK FREIDEL

IN CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER: THE CRUCIAL STATE OF OUR FREEDOMS. By *John W. Caughey*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 207. \$4.00.)

If liberty ever disappears as a way of life in the United States and freedom blacks out in university classrooms, newspaper offices, church pulpits, libraries, and public forums, no one will be able to say that a warning was not sounded. *In Clear and Present Danger*, by John W. Caughey, professor of American history at the University of California, Los Angeles, is just such a warning sounded in terms of the state of our liberties today.

Some will say that Caughey has spoken out prematurely and that he has claimed too much—that our freedoms obviously are not "in clear and present danger." That is, while our freedoms may be in danger from the outside, they are not in evident and immediate peril here at home. The best reply to those who

are complacent about these issues is to urge them to read the book and to see if they still feel the same way when they have finished.

The author was one of the scholars discharged in California as a state employee because he refused to sign the test oath written into the California State Constitution in 1952. This experience may have given Caughey additional interest in academic freedom, but his book is not a personal testament. It is an important and exceedingly relevant volume of recent and contemporary history.

Close as Caughey was to it, the California attempt to force regimentation in its universities receives only modest and impersonal treatment. For California's major contribution to the depreciation of our liberties is but one of scores of instances that are summarized. The reign of the inquisitors, the drift toward a police state, the descent into McCarthyism, the decline and fall of the Fifth Amendment, the shackling of the mind—these are the headings under which the Caughey documentation is presented.

While all his summary accounts are admirable, that dealing with the assault on the academic community by the late, and, as far as both the writer and reviewer are concerned, unlamented Senator from Wisconsin is notably valuable. Showing that "the professor of government is a standard scapegoat," Caughey reports in substantial detail on the cases of Philip C. Jessup of Columbia University and Owen Lattimore of Johns Hopkins, who were McCarthy's particular targets. As it happened, neither Jessup nor Lattimore—and there were fortunately others—accepted the McCarthy descriptions of them as "dupes or traitors." Instead, as the author records, they "fought back with a vigor that must have surprised" the man from Appleton.

But since all this happily has passed and the liberties of the citizens have been fully restored, why insist that they are still "in clear and present danger"? That is just the point. Our freedoms are still under attack. As Caughey aptly puts it, the fever began to rise in the early postwar years and climbed more rapidly with the spy trials and the Korean war; "so little room was left for it to go higher after 1954 that this curve had to flatten out, but there is little to indicate that it has dropped appreciably." The harassing laws for the most part are still on the statute books. The restrictive administrative orders are generally still in force. The public embarrassments forced on many one-time government employees at congressional hearings still depress their lives.

The Supreme Court, with Earl Warren as Chief Justice and some other new members, has gone far to reverse the worst of the record of the same bench under the late Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson. But as the author notes, the welcome decisions of 1957 in cases involving basic freedoms "drew an edgy comment from President Eisenhower indicating disapproval, a blast from former President Truman, a chorus of abuse from the South, predisposed against the court because of the desegregation order, and more criticism than praise from northern congressmen and editors."

This emphasis is not to suggest that almost no one has fought back. One of the last chapters, "The Stand for Freedom," recounts the blows for liberty struck by the Fund for the Republic, the American Library Association, the American Book Publishers Council, a few of the bar groups, a relatively small number of editors, writers, dramatists, and public figures. Though the press as a whole was timid or, worse still, was frankly on the other side, some rallying points did stand out. Caughey says that two editorial cartoonists in particular exposed and lampooned the "traducers of freedom." These were Herblock of the *Washington Post* and Fitzpatrick of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Of this uncowed pair, the California historian writes: "In the long run it may be recorded that these cartoonists were the most persuasive advocates of the retention of the constitutional freedoms."

Since there are generous references to the public services of former Senators Tydings of Maryland and Benton of Connecticut, Flanders of Vermont and Watkins of Utah as opponents of McCarthyism, it will not be amiss to add several other names which, so far as this reader noted, are not on the Caughey honor roll. On the Republican side is former Senator Harry P. Cain of Washington; on the Democratic side are former Senator Herbert Lehman of New York and Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., of Missouri.

A ten-page bibliography is in fact a discriminating evaluation of the books that support the author's summaries and conclusions.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

IRVING DILLIARD

O DESCOBRIMENTO DO BRASIL: DE ACÔRDO COM A DOCUMENTAÇÃO HISTÓRICO-CARTOGRÁFICA E A NÁUTICA. By *Thomas Oscar Marcondes de Souza*. (2d ed.; São Paulo: Gráfica-Editora Michalany. 1956. Pp. 359.)

THIS is the second, slightly revised edition of a work that relies heavily on Alberto Magnaghi and Samuel Eliot Morison to show that Amerigo Vespucci (not Pinzón or Ojeda or Cabral) discovered Brazil. The subject may appear innocent enough at first blush but the question of national prestige is so tied up with the fact of discovery that it is hard to avoid debate and argument. There was a time when Sir Clements Markham could dismiss Vespucci as a landlubber and indeed a liar. Not today. Magnaghi has not, I think, solved the Vespucci problem (nor, for that matter, have Roberto Levillier and Frederick Pohl contributed significantly to our knowledge of Vespucci) but he has nonetheless made an extraordinarily lucid effort to rehabilitate the Italian navigator, and though the student of Vespucci may now put aside Markham as unnecessarily harsh he must certainly read Magnaghi very carefully. Without Magnaghi's revolutionary work there probably would have been no Levillier, no Pohl, and no Marcondes de Souza.

In his present book, Marcondes de Souza has served the estimable purpose of acquainting the larger Brazilian public with Magnaghi's ideas and of applying them to the Brazilian scene. He has questioned in the process some of the conclusions reached by the authors of the *História da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil* (thereby stepping on the toes of well-known scholars) and attacked the nationalists who insist on monopolizing for Portugal even the incidental glory. The regrettable thing is that Marcondes de Souza is as vociferously pro-Italian as his opponents are vociferously pro-Portuguese. It goes without saying that both sides need more serenity than they have, and a greater sense of the significances of realities. Without these predicates we are bound to underplay the *de facto* discovery by Pedro Álvares Cabral in 1500. Brazil begins with Cabral, not with Vespucci.

Marcondes de Souza also touches upon other aspects of Vespucci and has something to say about the concept of the New World and of the priority (which many have affirmed) of Amerigo Vespucci in expressing it. Actually all Europe, including the Spanish government, as Professor Francis M. Rogers pointed out in a lecture he delivered last year at the Geographical Society of Lisbon, realized that Columbus had discovered a continent that was not Asia before anything real or apocryphal was published from Vespucci's pen. People doubted that Columbus had reached the Indies even before the end of the fifteenth century. When finally Valentim Fernandes published his description of the true Indies in 1502, it became clear to the Spaniard Rodrigo de Santaella, whose book was printed in 1503, that the Indies that Columbus had found were quite something else.

Vespucci is a subject of enormous possibilities which, in the absence of new documentary material, demands very special attention. If Marcondes de Souza is to add anything new and substantial to it, over and above what Magnaghi, Levillier, and Morison have done, he will have to explore avenues that heretofore have escaped him, consider seriously the kind of research that Rogers has been engaged in, and possibly listen more kindly to what that old man of the sea Admiral Gago Coutinho has to say about navigations westward and southward across the Atlantic. By these remarks I do not wish to imply that I am not impressed with the extent of Marcondes de Souza's achievement. As I said in my review of the first edition, his study on Vespucci and the discovery of Brazil is very much worth reading. Despite the gratuitous frankness with which the author writes, nobody can begin to study the discovery of Brazil without referring to this and other words by Marcondes de Souza.

Catholic University of America

MANOEL CARDOZO

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

Books

General History

MEN AND EVENTS: HISTORICAL ESSAYS. By *H. R. Trevor-Roper*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1957. Pp. viii, 324. \$4.50.) The Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford republishes here forty-three essays and reviews which have appeared in British periodicals over the last decade. This collection will be thought "not a scrap-heap but a book," the author hopes, because he treats each subject not as a period piece, but as a single aspect of "one general problem" that he considers the substance of history in every time and place, namely the interaction between determinable social forces or geographical facts and the indeterminable thoughts and deeds of men. Trevor-Roper also expects the reader to discover his special interests and eccentricities. Both his anticipations are fulfilled. His historical philosophy is quite consistently maintained, but his special interests and eccentricities do as much to give the book its cohesion. Though the author delivers his opinion upon subjects ranging from ancient Israel to the East-West crisis of today, twenty-six of the forty-three essays deal wholly or primarily with English history and historians, and thirty (including twenty-three of the English) fall in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Tudors and Stuarts, Protestants and Jesuits, humanists and the country gentry, and the historians who have written about them form the central mass around which are gathered antique Greek kings and medieval Italian capitalists, Ibn Khaldûn, Lytton Strachey, and the figures of the Spanish enlightenment. These pieces are inevitably uneven in character, though not in quality. Some are definitive, some merely suggestive. Yet upon every subject Trevor-Roper offers penetrating and incisive comment, his historical judgment reinforced by conventional but deep moral convictions. He detests bigotry, special pleading, and misuse of evidence. He admires courage, intelligence, and achievement. By these standards such divergent types as Erasmus and Thomas Cromwell, treated in two of the finest essays, share heroic stature. Clarendon, Macaulay, and Burckhardt emerge as great historians, while the author deems Carlyle silly, Gasquet dishonest, the Marxists sterile, and Toynbee hateful. Whether or not the reader agrees with the author's opinions, he cannot but be fascinated by the boldness of the conclusions and the brilliance of the literary style. There is not a dull line in the book.

Yale University

ARCHIBALD S. FOORD

GESCHICHTE DER SOZIALEN IDEEN: INDIVIDUUM, GEMEINSCHAFT, GESELLSCHAFT. By *Kurt Schilling*. [Kröners Taschenausgabe, Band 261.] (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag. 1957. Pp. 411, 8. DM 12.) The subtitle of this volume, "Individual, Community, Society," contains the key to Kurt Schilling's analysis of European social ideas. Defining community and society as the two possible, basic notions of collective human life, Schilling examines the major philosophies of Western civilization from Plato to Nietzsche with regard to the particular combinations and variations of

social organization devised within this framework. The result is a book that attempts to be both philosophy and history, but falls somewhat short of being either. This does not necessarily discredit either the author or his book, for his systematic approach to the history of social thought suggests interpretations that may be very useful to the historian of ideas. The work follows the main-traveled roads, touching only briefly if at all upon thinkers of secondary importance. The best chapters are those concerned with the periods of most intense philosophical creativeness, especially ancient Greece and the seventeenth century. Schilling regards all the possible combinations of ideas, expressed philosophically, as being exhausted in the eighteenth century with Rousseau. What comes afterward he calls merely variations (*Parteivarianten*); and even this semi-creative social thought ends, in his opinion, with Nietzsche. R. G. Collingwood has observed that to the philosopher the past "is not a series of events but a system of things known." Schilling views the past as a philosopher, and within the structure of his own definitions he has produced a good if somewhat ponderous account of social ideas.

University of Michigan

JOHN P. SPIELMAN, JR.

SPINOZA AND THE RISE OF LIBERALISM. By *Lewis Samuel Feuer*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1958. Pp. x, 323. \$7.50.) In this book Mr. Feuer attempts an admirable end: to relate Spinoza's thought to the historical situation of which the philosopher was, though deliberately withdrawn, a part. Spinoza is presented in highly dramatic language against the ideas current in the Netherlands of the seventeenth century. Feuer's authorities are the very general, sometimes even romantic, commentators of the nineteenth century, whose work is now pretty well out of date. As a consequence his own presentation is often badly skewed or even wrong. To add to the confusion, the author's terminology is inadequate and vague—the government of Holland is sometimes characterized as "middle class," sometimes as "republican," again as "aristocratic," without definition or qualification. Spinoza's political ideas and those of Johan de Witt are too often classified together and called, at different points in the book, "radical," "liberal," "republican," and even (though with an obeisance to the ineluctable semantic difficulties in intellectual history) "democratic." Far too many judgments are made from the vantage point of a present whose intellectual and institutional heritage is imperfectly understood: the House of Orange was by no means a forerunner of fascist government; the Calvinist doctrine of seventeenth-century Holland is, in the context of Spinoza's life and ideas, certainly irrelevant to present-day applications of Calvinist doctrine in the Union of South Africa. In a long and interesting note, Feuer says: "Historical scholarship tends often to forget the complex emotional strains in a great thinker's work." He has thus subjected Spinoza to a careful psychological examination and found this great thinker's work to be largely a masochistic projection. Unfortunately the nearly contemporary sources for such examination are conspicuously inaccurate and biased where they exist at all, and Feuer has relied upon biographical material since disqualified as fact. The method as a whole is far from foolproof, even where evidence is reliable. In short, this is not the book it might have been; its scholarship is insufficiently critical (though in fairness let it be said that the material is extremely complex); its tendentious thesis and conclusions have a limited usefulness to the intellectual historian.

Barnard College

ROSALIE L. COLIE

WAR AND SOCIETY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *Sir George Clark*. [The Wiles Lectures given at the Queen's University, Belfast, 1956.] (New

York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 156. \$3.50.) This volume is a revision of lectures given at Queen's University of Belfast and at the University of London, with an additional paper on the Barbary Corsairs. The chapters are held together in two ways: all of them deal with the melee of the seventeenth century, and all of them manifest the wise and considered judgment of sound historical scholarship. In his analyses of some of the unsupportable generalizations of Toynbee and others, Professor (now Sir) George Clark both corrects misunderstandings and provides brilliant examples of historical criticism. The volume as a whole offers a valuable interpretation of the problem of war in early modern society. The present reviewer finds himself in complete agreement with the resolute rejection of the idea that any ritualization of war made the melee of early modern Europe into either a relatively harmless play acting or a glorified sport for kings. The chapter on dueling is most interestingly presented. The duels survived in many parts of the West until well into the nineteenth century, and managed to surround itself with a romantic aura that somehow made it relatively respectable. As an institution it speaks volumes about the moral development and the authority of law in societies where it was tolerated. Clark strips off the romantic overlays, revealing the duel for what it was and exposing the assumptions upon which it rested. His discussion of "War as a Collision of Societies" should forever lay the ghost of the Kulischer thesis, at least in academic circles; and his two essays "War as an Institution" and "War and the European Community" should clarify some of the thinking of pacifically minded historians who have tried to exorcise war in their own time by denying or ignoring its existence in the past, or by branding it as an anachronism. The last essay, "The Cycle of War and Peace," is an amusing analysis of popular superstitions about conflict in Western society. This volume leaves a number of avenues unexplored, but the reviewer is content to appreciate the excellent book that the author did write rather than to accuse him for failing to do something else.

University of Minnesota

JOHN B. WOLF

THE GOLDEN TRADE OF THE MOORS. By E. W. Bovill. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. vi, 281. \$7.00.) This volume is more than a new edition of the author's *Caravans of the Old Sahara: An Introduction to the History of the Western Sudan* (London, 1933). At first perusal it seems to cover the same ground and draw upon the same sources. In any close comparison numerous chapters of the new book are quite similar to those in the old, and many paragraphs are only paraphrases of those in his *Caravans*. Certainly the style in the more recent publication reveals a more mature scholar, for the text is smoother and more even, and his points are made with greater clarity and assurance. Beyond these superficialities, two points should be made. First, new material has been added and the author utilizes the fruits of scholarship on this subject made by others since 1933, although it is painfully obvious that in the last quarter century too few students have been digging in this field. The other and major objective in rewriting the book has been the author's realization that the Sahara and its trade routes had even more influence on North Africa than they did on the Western Sudan. As the subtitle of the first rendition reveals, Mr. Bovill was concerned with the Western Sudan and its dependence upon North Africa. He emphasized the results of the abolition of the slave trade in the nineteenth century. In the newer volume his point of view has broadened to include North Africa, and with his intimate knowledge of the Sahara and its history he has demonstrated clearly not only the power and wealth that came to North Africa from the desert and Western Sudan but also the characteristics of North African civilization that stem from south of the Sahara. It seems to this reviewer that the field of historical study presented in this

volume has only been scratched and that there is a pressing need for students trained in Arabic studies to investigate the history of Africa south of the Sahara.

Ohio State University

SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1955. Selected, edited, and introduced by *Noble Frankland*. Assisted by *Patricia Woodcock*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. Pp. xix, 513. \$9.60.) The pace, range, and complexity of international affairs in recent years make it extraordinarily difficult to keep track of the chronology and relationships of events. For this reason the present publication and its companion *Survey* have become increasingly valuable for accurate and convenient reference. No doubt the Geneva summit meeting of July was the most dramatic event of 1955, bringing together the heads of government for the first time since Potsdam and inspiring exaggerated hopes for the solution of some of the major East-West conflicts. The relative cordiality of the conference helped to veil the absence of any positive agreements, but the paucity of practical results was clearly revealed with the failure of the subsequent foreign ministers' meeting in November. Nevertheless, Geneva, both as cause and effect, played a role in the easing of tension, reflected recognition of the nuclear stalemate, and indicated an apparent change of emphasis in Soviet policy from military aggressiveness to more subtle methods of competition and expansion. In retrospect, other less attention-catching occurrences of 1955 now appear to be of equal if not greater importance than Geneva. Among them were the Formosa Straits crisis, the Afro-Asian Bandung Conference, and the growing signs of danger in the Middle East, revolving around burgeoning Arab nationalism and the Israeli question. In Europe, the entrance of West Germany into NATO and the belated achievement of an Austrian Treaty was matched by the Warsaw Treaty among the Soviet bloc and a reconciliation, albeit an uneasy one, between Russia and Yugoslavia. At the end of the year the significance of these and other often conflicting events and trends was difficult to evaluate. Three years later the patterns are more evident, but far from clear.

University of Colorado

ROBERT PAUL BROWDER

Ancient and Medieval History

LA GRECITÀ POLITICA DA TUCIDIDE AD ARISTOTELE. By *Massimiliano Pavan*. [Università di Roma Scuola di Perfezionamento in Storia Antica.] (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1958. Pp. 187. L. 3,000.) The title of the book is explained in the preface: just as Jacoby followed "le tracce delle correnti ideologiche" through the local histories of Attica, so Pavan has undertaken to isolate the attitude toward Hellenism, or perhaps better, the Greek nationalism, prevalent in the fourth century. In successive chapters he studies the works of writers from Thucydides to Aristotle from a certain point of view, but in fact this central theme proves to be not pan-Hellenism, as we are led to expect, but Athens, and specifically the development and fixation at Athens of the somewhat smug concept that what was good for Athens was good for Greece. The generation of Marathon and Salamis had been granted with universal acclaim not only the victor's crown but also a hegemonial position for its services in behalf of Greece against Persia, it was alleged. Thereafter this position, identified specifically with Athens' walls, fleet, and overseas possessions, continued to be a guarantee of the freedom and well-being of Athens itself and of the whole of Greece. It is true that this had led earlier to the extreme democracy and to the empire termed by

Pericles a tyranny, and that these were at least followed by ultimate defeat in the Peloponnesian War; but the democrats of the fourth century were confident that the earlier mistakes could be avoided. It is Pavan's merit to emphasize that in this attitude there was no difference between conservatives and radicals. It was held by Isocrates as well as by Demosthenes and Demades. In view of the author's declared purpose, however, he could not stop with the tradition of the Athenian politicians and panegyrists, but had to include Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle, and here trouble occurs. No one of these was an encomiast of Athens, although two of them were Athenian. Pavan seems surprisingly unconcerned with the fact that Aristotle with his devotion to the golden mean favored troops only for defense and disapproved of Greeks ruling Greeks, although he, as a migratory citizen of a small city, should have been the perfect exponent of pan-Hellenic opinion. Plato and Xenophon both had personal reasons for disliking Athenian democracy and empire alike. Actually, of course, it is a mistake to equate Athens and Greece, however seductive may be Athenian propaganda. Isocrates spoke as an Athenian when he said: "We call 'Greek' those who share in *our* culture." *Yale University*

C. BRADFORD WELLES

ALEXANDRIA, THE GOLDEN CITY. Volume I, THE CITY OF THE PTOLEMIES; Volume II, CLEOPATRA'S CITY. By *Harold T. Davis*. (Evanston: Principia Press of Illinois. 1957. Pp. xii, 236; viii, 238-524. \$5.40; \$5.40.) Harold T. Davis of Northwestern University has expended an enormous amount of energy on his *Alexandria, the Golden City*, and it is evident, too, that he has greatly enjoyed the process. The two volumes are superficial, but taken together they touch, if not always briefly, on practically every obvious person, episode, and achievement (scientific and otherwise) in ancient Alexandria's long history. Volume I opens in storybook fashion with the reader imagining himself a voyager from Rhodes to an important festival of Ptolemy Philadelphus at Alexandria in 279 B.C. The chapter, "A Night with the Poets" begins with these words: "Let us hurry to the Museum! There are rumors abroad in the court of the literati that a new poet is about to try his wings and such spectacles are often amusing. . . . Let us hasten to see the fun!" As we explore the sights of Alexandria, we meet an old soldier, who had actually been with Alexander on his expedition and now begs leave to tell us of it. For thirty pages we get the nostalgic tale, based, it is quite true, on the ancient sources. In the bibliography there is a very fair statement of these sources, though the fragments are assigned to Müller (now antiquated, 1846), not to Jacoby. References are also given to highly specialized articles in Pauly-Wissowa, to the rather bizarre biography of Alexander by Cummings, and so on, but there is no mention of Tarn. Reading around in books, Davis does not seem to realize, hardly suffices to make an acceptable work. As for Volume II, it commences with Cleopatra and her circle and continues on to the Mohammedan conquest. At times the spelling of proper names is annoying. Although regretful, I cannot commend either text or illustrations.

Brown University

C. A. ROBINSON, JR.

L'AMMINISTRAZIONE DELLA SARDEGNA DA AUGUSTO ALL'INVASIONE VANDALICA. By *Piero Meloni*. [Sotto gli Auspici della Regione Autonoma della Sardegna Assessorato all'Istruzione.] (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1958. Pp. 314. L. 4,000.) Detailed studies of individual provinces of the Roman Empire provide a steadily broadening basis for a much-desired revision of older general works on the provinces, like Mommsen's classic two volumes or Chapot's useful summary. Such a resurvey might well be a collaborative enterprise of scholars familiar with different

areas, as was, in the economic field, the *Economic Survey of Rome* edited by Tenney Frank. Dr. Meloni's study, well-printed and carefully proofread, offers a thorough and painstaking collection and analysis of the epigraphical and other materials for the political and financial administration of Sardinia from Augustus to Diocletian. The major emphasis is on the third and early fourth centuries, perhaps because more evidence survives for those years than for the first two centuries. In a prosopographical list of seventy-two reasonably datable proconsuls, praefects, and procurators down to A.D. 399, only twenty-four fall before A.D. 200. This list concludes with a number of undated names. There are also lists of lesser officials, a chronological table of governors, an index of the inscriptions cited, and a bibliography. In sum, the book will not only be indispensable to an author of the survey of Sardinia in the future general work on the provinces; it will also be useful to any scholar interested in Roman provincial administration. It is therefore a pity that the author restricted himself to the political and financial administration of the first three centuries of the Empire. His book would have been both more informative and more readable had he presented a rounded picture of political, economic, and cultural conditions, drawing more fully on the scanty literary references to Sardinia. It would also have benefited from an introductory study of Sardinia under the Republic. That Meloni might have broadened his scope is shown by the most interesting and vital chapter of the book, that which concludes the first part before prosopographical sections. In it Meloni uses the literary and legal sources to present a lively picture of "Sardinia in the History of the Late Empire" down to the Vandal occupation, which he dates in the decade from A.D. 456 to 466.

Harvard University

MASON HAMMOND

DER KRIEGER DER MEROWINGERZEIT UND SEINE WELT: EINE STUDIE ÜBER KRIEGERTUM ALS FORM DER MENSCHLICHEN EXISTENZ IM FRÜHMITTELALTER. By Jean-Pierre Bodmer. [Geist und Werk der Zeiten, Heft 2.] (Zürich: Fretz & Wasmuth Verlag. 1957. Pp. 143. 950 fr.) For few periods of European history are the literary remains so scanty as for the Merovingian era. The historian of Norman England, for example, though he may often complain of the lacunae in his sources, is overwhelmed in comparison. All credit, therefore, is due Herr Bodmer for his venture into this dimly lighted area. The subtitle, *Eine Studie über Kriegertum als Form der menschlichen Existenz im Frühmittelalter*, indicates both the direction and scope of his study. It must be stated that the material simply does not exist from which such an account can be derived in detail. For example, any serious study of Merovingian society must of absolute necessity rely heavily on Bishop Gregory's *Historia Francorum*, and yet the author states quite frankly in his preface that Gregory "nahm nie an einer Schlacht teil." Although Gregory and other contemporary sources vividly describe the turbulent life of the Frankish warrior in both peace and war, our knowledge of the military methods of the Franks is derived chiefly from East Roman authors—Procopius, Maurice, and Agathias—the only competent military observers of the time. These writers, however, observed the Franks solely as invaders of imperial territory and the validity of their statements when transferred to the Franks fighting *inter pares* is open to some question. On the other hand this book performs a valuable service in assembling between its covers a considerable amount of material, much of it from sources difficult to obtain. The footnotes are particularly helpful in that extensive quotations are printed from both the Greek and Latin authors. The addition of an index, however, would have greatly enhanced the usefulness of the volume. On balance, then, this is a well organized, quite usable work; one which will and should

frequently be consulted by students of the social and military history of the Dark Ages.

Woman's College, University of North Carolina

JOHN BEELER

THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE. By *Heinrich Fichtenau*. Translated by *Peter Munz*. [Studies in Mediaeval History, Volume IX.] (Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell. 1957. Pp. xxiv, 196. 25s.) The ninth volume of Geoffrey Barraclough's *Studies in Mediaeval History* offers a partial translation by Peter Munz of Professor Heinrich Fichtenau's *Das karolingische Imperium: Soziale und geistige Problematik eines Grossreiches*, first published in 1949. The introduction and the first six chapters of the German original are offered in an occasionally revised English version; the remaining three chapters dealing with the post-Carolingian period have been omitted. But the English version, as it stands, is a clearly defined unit. Its chapter on "Charles the Great" is largely augmented by much new research that has appeared since the first publication of the work; some of the most important was contributed by Fichtenau himself. The other chapters discuss the often treated imperial title, court scholars, nobles and officials, the poor, and Charlemagne's last years. The translator contributes a long introduction in which he appraises the author's historical approach to this often investigated period of European history. There can be little doubt that Fichtenau has done much to put the investigation of Carolingian history on a sound historical basis that rests solidly on the available source material and not at all on imaginary constructions of national or religious yearnings. The penetrating analysis offered by the Austrian medievalist should lay to rest the dispute between historians concerning Charlemagne's provenance. Though not many historians will question Charles's Frankish, i.e., Germanic origin, some French historians, especially since World War I, have arrived at the conclusion that the Frank belongs to France (*Charlemagne appartient à la France*), a thesis doubted by German medievalists. The reading of Fichtenau's book will convince anybody who approaches the problem with an open mind that Charles was a representative neither of French "civilisation" nor of German "Kulture." Actually, the historical stature of the Frankish King is much greater. Indeed, he may be looked upon as the embodiment of the Germanic-Romanic unity of the occident. Ranke, I believe, was quite justified in saying (*Weltgeschichte*, V, 243) that Charlemagne is not solely the predecessor of the kings of individual European nations. He was, in the words of Ranke, "the patriarch of the European Continent," where developments grew on the soil prepared by Charlemagne. Teachers of history will welcome this extremely readable book that can be recommended as an introduction to a central problem of European history, intellectual and political.

State University of New York, Harpur College

LUITPOLD WALLACH

DIE ÄLTESTE LEBENSDESCHEIBUNG DES HEILIGEN ADALBERT. By *Mathilde Uhlirz*. [Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Schrift 1.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1957. Pp. 92. DM 8.80.) UNTERSUCHUNGEN ÜBER INHALT UND DATIERUNG DER BRIEFE GERBERTS VON AURILLAC, PAPST SYLVESTERS II. By *Mathilde Uhlirz*. [Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Schrift 2.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1957. Pp. 206. DM 19.80.) In preparing for the continuation her *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Kaiser Otto III* (1954), and her revision of J. F. Böhmer's *Regesta Imperii*, Dr. Mathilde Uhlirz had to come to terms anew with the sources of the period. Among these were the sources for the life of Adalbert of Prague, the apostle to the Prussians,

and the letters of Gerbert of Aurillac. The result is the monographs under review, which normally would have been published before the main works of which they are the preliminary studies. But much to the author's distress they follow her *Jahrbücher* and the new edition of Böhmer as the first monographs in a new series of the Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences. The monograph on Gerbert's letters is a continuation of earlier studies on the letters written before 984. The two monographs are parts 2 and 3 of the *Forschungen und Vorarbeiten zu den Jahrbüchern und Regesten Kaiser Ottos III*, the first of which was the author's *Die Krone des hl. Stephan* (1951). Saint Adalbert of Prague died in 997. What has been regarded as the earliest and most reliable account of his life was probably written by John Canaparius, a monk (probably Basilian) of the Monastery of Saints Boniface and Alexius on the Aventine in Rome. A second life was written between 1004 and 1008 by Bruno of Querfurt. But there is also a poetical version in rhyme of Adalbert's career, and it has been assumed hitherto that it was a late fourteenth- or fifteenth-century working of the life of John Canaparius. Dr. Uhlirz demonstrates in a very convincing manner (stunning for those who like scholarly detective work) that the reverse is the case. The poetical version was written between the autumn of 997 and the end of 999, before that of Canaparius. It was quite likely a poetical reworking of material furnished by the second of Adalbert's companions into Prussia (Benedict-Bugussa). Who the poet (or poetess) was there is no way of knowing except that he belonged to the distinguished Gandersheim circle, and wrote what Dr. Uhlirz considers an important contribution to German literature. It is therefore Benedict's rhymed life of Adalbert that forms the chief matter for the Roman version by Canaparius written some time after June, 1000, and before the death of Otto III in 1001. The author does not question the authorship of John Canaparius, though she is not certain of it. Together with the poetical version it furnished the material for Bruno of Querfurt's life of Adalbert. The monograph on Gerbert's letters is limited to what they contribute to *Jahrbuch* and *Register*. Gerbert the scholar and humanist does not fit in here. Working through the 105 letters written between June 29, 984, and the end of 997, the author strives first of all to arrive at a satisfactory dating for each letter and then to estimate its importance for such matters as Otto III's succession, the accession of Hugh Capet, and Gerbert's accession to the archbishopric of Rheims and membership in Otto III's chapel. In so doing she has to deal with the previous work, especially of Havet, Lot, Pivcecs, and Schramm. Her results, often determined by her special knowledge of the royal itinerary, are tabulated on pages 195 ff. Scholars working on Gerbert or late tenth-century German history will have to consider the author's conclusions. The number of scholars in the world interested in the lives of Saint Adalbert of Prague or the dates of Gerbert's letters must be very small. The number of historians interested in Adalbert's mission and in Gerbert's mind must be much larger. After her intensive labors as a specialist, Dr. Uhlirz must know more about these matters than any one else. It is perhaps not too much to beg that for the benefit of the larger audience she enrich our knowledge with monographs on these matters.

Brandeis University

EDGAR N. JOHNSON

THE DESPOTATE OF EPIROS. By *Donald M. Nicol*. (Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell, 1957. Pp. xii, 251. 32s.) This is a more important book than its small size might suggest to the casual reader. It contains, however, a number of slips. There is no evidence that Othon de la Roche ever "adopted the title Duke of Athens." Theodore Lascaris did not assume the Nicene crown in 1206, but in 1208, as Nicol knows. The Latin Emperor of Constantinople Robert of Courtenay died on his return from Rome,

not "on his way to Rome," and John of Brienne was not "eighty years old" at the time of his accession as coruler of the Latin Empire, despite the statement of Acropolites, who had seen him (*Chron.* 27, ed. A. Heisenberg, I, 44); J. M. Buckley has shown he was considerably younger (*Speculum*, XXXII [1957], 315-22). Like Fr. M. Roncaglia, the distinguished Franciscan scholar whom he follows, Nicol confuses the imperial notary and poet John Grassus with his fellow notary and poet John Idruntinus, with whom George Bardanes spent six months in Otranto in 1231-1232, not with Grassus. Michael Palaeologus is said to have met the attacking force of young Theodore Angelus in 1257 by taking command of "five hundred Paphlagonian troops . . . and, sword in hand, [he] went out to meet the advancing enemy." The source is Acropolites (*ibid.* 71, I, 147-48), who, however, makes a point of the fact that there were only *fifty* Paphlagonians. Michael, incidentally advanced "spear in hand." Among the foreign recruits collected by Michael before the battle of Pelagonia the Greek *Chronicle of Morea* (v. 3601) mentions only five hundred Turks, not fifteen hundred, and the Italian *Chronicle* (ed. C. Hopf, p. 441) mentions ten thousand Cumans, not one thousand (184, note 14). Although Nicol presents an improved chronology of events, a number of his troop movements seem too rapid, which leads him to telescope time. Thus before the battle of Pelagonia, Michael II of Epirus and William of Villehardouin could not assemble at Arta and the next day cross the Pindus mountains. The French and Greek *Chronicles of Morea* tell us they went by Ioannina, which adds to the utter impossibility. Nicol's "next day" seems to come from the Greek *Chronicle* (v. 3629), where the phrase looks to me like a hemistich inserted to fill out a line of verse. It is absent in the French version, which merely says they hardly delayed at all. Although Nicol is thoroughly at home in the correspondence of John Apocauscus and Demetrius Chomatianus, he seems not to know Georg Stadtmüller's study of their older contemporary, to whom he often refers (*Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen*, Rome, 1934). The chief importance of Nicol's book lies in his correct insistence upon the primary position occupied by Epirus in the affairs of Greece from about 1212 to the battle of Klokotinitza in 1230, the period when most Greeks concentrated their hopes for the recovery of Constantinople from the Latins more upon Epirus than Nicaea. All in all, despite occasional slips, this is an admirable book, and provides our best and clearest account of Epirote history from 1204 to 1261.

University of Pennsylvania

KENNETH M. SETTON

LA FRANCE SOUS LES DERNIERS CAPÉTIENS, 1223-1328. By Marc Bloch. [Cahiers des *Annales*, XIII.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1958. Pp. 129.) One can sympathize with the desire of the friends of Marc Bloch to salvage as much as they can of his uncompleted work and yet feel that the publication of this book was a mistake. It is a set of lecture notes, uneven and incomplete as lecture notes always are. It is interesting to see how a master of the trade prepared his lectures and comforting to realize that he used the same devices that most of us do. Some sections are written out in full, others are merely indicated by topic words or phrases. Apt quotations and illustrative anecdotes are inserted at the appropriate places. But lecture notes are only the dead bones of a man's thought, and in this case some of the bones are missing. For example, there is almost nothing on royal finance, a subject that Bloch knew well and must have treated in his course. Moreover, this is not Bloch at his best. The notes were for a *cours d'agrégation* in which breadth of information rather than depth of understanding was stressed. Bloch touched on many topics and gave a clear and succinct résumé of the state of scholarly knowledge on each point. But the treatment is almost entirely expository; there is little explanation and no real synthesis. Only a

few scattered sentences remind us of Bloch's great ability to see the past as a living whole. In short, this book is a useful summary for Ph.D. candidates preparing for their examinations, but it adds little to our understanding of thirteenth-century France.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

THE CHRONICLE OF WALTER OF GUISBOROUGH, PREVIOUSLY EDITED AS THE CHRONICLE OF WALTER OF HEMINGFORD OR HEMINGBURGH. Edited by *Harry Rothwell*. [Camden Series, Volume LXXXIX.] (London: Royal Historical Society. 1957. Pp. xlii, 409.) The historian hitherto known as Walter of Hemingburgh is the best narrative writer on the last part of Edward I's reign. A new edition is welcome if only because the mid-nineteenth-century version of H. C. Hamilton, good as it was by contemporary standards, lacks the critical apparatus that has since been constructed. Professor Rothwell's work overcomes the deficiency most satisfactorily. While there are no major textual changes, i.e., changes involving radical reinterpretation of the reign, our debt for hard labor well done is nevertheless considerable. The foundation of the new edition is Rothwell's creation of a tree of manuscript filiation whereby a closer approximation to a lost original (called β) is achieved. This filiation is based on a close comparison of available manuscripts for the period in which they overlap, and results, of course, in a relative demotion of the previous principal MS, College of Arms MS N. 13. Rothwell also brings into play a known but hitherto unused version, Trinity College MS R.7.9. The listing of variants in the footnotes enables the reader to follow the process of reconstruction, though it is necessarily a less comfortable experience than where the text follows a single manuscript of unquestioned primacy. One odd result is that some of Hamilton's readings are quite lost, and must be presumed to have been very corrupt or late. "Hemingburgh" is most famous for his "constitutional" documents and passages. These come out with improved punctuation and some odd readings such as "male thouthe" (without variants) for the previous "maltolt." In his somewhat epigrammatic introduction the author characterizes these documents as "gems impaired by their setting"—a setting described as "the talk of the North." These judgments will not command universal assent. Another subject of contention will be the revised title. There is no doubt that "Walter of Guisborough" is established as the soundest conservative title. But "Hemingburgh" has usage, late fourteenth-century textual evidence, and circumstantial support on its side. It is a great pity that Rothwell could neither discredit nor verify the claims of "Hemingburgh"; there remains a good case for continuing to refer to our chronicler by this title, suitably protected by quotation marks.

Univeristy of Toronto

M. R. POWICKE

THE TRAVELS OF IBN BATTÛTA, A.D. 1325-1354. Volume I. Translated with revisions and notes from the Arabic text edited by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti by *H. A. R. Gibb*. [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Number CX.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1958. Pp. xvii, 269. \$5.50.) Ibn Battûta was fortunate to have found at last, after six centuries, such a competent scholar to render his great work into English. Earlier translations, including Latin, German, Turkish, and English—one by Gibb himself in 1929 and another by Samuel Lee in 1829—were all in abridged forms. The French by Defrémery and Sanguinetti in four volumes (Paris, 1853-58), which includes an Arabic edition, was the only complete one. Gibb's present translation is based on this edition. Ibn Battûta well deserves the title "the traveler of Islam," having in 1325-1354 undertaken three major journeys that took him into every land of Islam from Nigeria and Andalusia in the west to India in the east. He also visited Constantinople, the land of the Bulgars,

southern Russia, Ceylon, and China. Before his death in 1377 he dictated his reminiscences at Fez to a secretary of the sultan of Morocco in a conversational style that the secretary polished into literary form, inserting here and there material from outside sources. The result is a mine of information on life and society in medieval Islam. Gibb emended a few readings, added biographical and geographical notes, explained technical terms, commented copiously on the narrative to render it more intelligible, and added chapter headings, plans, and maps, leaving nothing to be desired. A spot check showed accurate and thorough work throughout. Slight improvement could be made, but nowhere to alter the meaning seriously. In certain passages the rhyme dictates a different construction from what is translated, as in the first sentence of the book where "the learned," a noun, is made an adjective—"the learned dictator of law" (strictly "jurisconsult"). On the map (p. 70), also in the text, "al-Ḥuṣn," "Zahlé," and other places are given French or colloquial transliterations. If the colloquial were to be followed, hardly a name in the book would stand. Baṭṭūta is pronounced Baṭūta from Morocco to Iraq. The destruction of Baghdad took place in 1258, not in 1256, and Kasrawan covers only a part of the mountain range between Ba'albek and Tripoli. This volume deals with North Africa, Egypt, Syria, Arabia (where Mecca and Medina are emphasized), and Iraq. The pious author visited Mecca four times. Three more volumes are promised and undoubtedly will be eagerly welcomed not only by orientalists but by all students of medieval times.

Princeton University

PHILIP K. HITT

RÉGESTES DES DÉLIBÉRATIONS DU SÉNAT DE VENISE CONCERNANT LA ROMANIE. Tome I, 1329-1399. By *F. Thiriet*. [École pratique des hautes études, VI^e section. Documents et recherches sur l'économie des pays Byzantins, Islamiques et Slaves et leurs relations commerciales au Moyen-Âge, Volume I.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1958. Pp. 246. Gld. 20.) M. Thiriet has indeed made a contribution in calendaring the records of the Venetian Senate regarding the Venetian and Eastern Empires from 1329 to 1399. Anyone interested in the European Levant would profit by studying these summaries. They include a wide variety of subjects, ranging from the major interests of commerce, defense, and international relations, to individual cases like the commuting of a sentence imposed by a subordinate official. Thiriet has kept before him the problems of historians who may use his book or the archives, and he has saved them hours of work. For each of the 972 items he states the date, the classification of the documents in the archives, and the exact folios in order that historians may send for microfilms. More than one-third of the summaries pertain to the years 1381-1399. If some of the proposals were not accepted, the number of ayes and nays or the amendments are given. His excellent introduction, cross references to related items, identifications of persons, references to other publications, explanation of the coins, weights, and measures, map, and index are valuable aids.

University of Illinois

MARY LUCILLE SHAY

DIE DEUTSCHEN STÄDTECHRONIKEN ALS SPIEGEL DES BÜRGERLICHEN SELBSTVERSTÄNDNISSES IM SPÄTMITTELALTER. By *Heinrich Schmidt*. [Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Schrift 3.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1958. Pp. 147. DM 16.80.) This little book of Heinrich Schmidt on the German city chronicles, written as a dissertation at Göttingen University, is the most novel and stimulating German study on historical sources to appear in many years. Far from being the dull analysis that is often the fate of such studies, it is an attempt to discover the opinions and concepts of the various city chroniclers on such subjects as the imperial idea and the rela-

tions of the cities to the nobles, and to examine their comprehension of time-place relations and of history in respect to the past, present, and future. It is virtually a psychoanalysis of the city chroniclers. Chapter I surveys the city chronicles in the later Middle Ages and rates the historical value of the official and private chronicles. It concentrates on distinguishing the viewpoints of the official chronicles from the private accounts of patrician, nonpatrician, and ecclesiastical writers. To substantiate his generalizations, Schmidt has made a case study of three chronicles, one from Augsburg, one from Nuremberg, and one from Lübeck. Chapter II interprets the historical concepts of these three chronicles. Each is examined for organization, for the contrasting opinions of the city and nobles, for views on the Empire, and for comprehension of time-space relations. Chapter III presents a systematic interpretation of the total climate of historical opinion represented in the chronicles. The author is particularly interested in what was thought about the "Empire," the "nation," and "western Christendom." Finally, the general attitude of the chroniclers is related to the nascent spirit of German humanism. Schmidt has made a sensitive, original, and intelligent inquiry into an important part of the historical writing on medieval Germany. The new techniques he has employed will undoubtedly stimulate and appear in future historiographical studies.

University of Illinois

BRYCE LYON

ETHIOPIAN ITINERARIES, CIRCA 1400-1524, INCLUDING THOSE COLLECTED BY ALESSANDRO ZORZI AT VENICE IN THE YEARS 1519-24. Edited by O. G. S. Crawford. [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Number CIX.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1958. Pp. xxix, 231. \$5.50.) This, the last book we shall have from one of our most eminent archaeologists, bears the impress of the careful and meticulous application of method that distinguished all the work of Dr. O. G. S. Crawford. He deals here with the geography of Ethiopia in the mid-fifteenth century—a time when this subject was of great topical interest to Venice and to Genoa, whose mercantile interests were already seeking some back door to Islam so that Alexandria might once again become a place where Europeans and not Egyptians made most of the profit from the eastern trades. Italian adventurers had long made forays into this surprisingly Christian kingdom, and Prester John was already a European legend before Alessandro Zorzi, whose routes are here transcribed, made as painstaking a survey as his circumstances would allow. Crawford collates the information Zorzi's journeys give with earlier, and mostly fanciful, accounts. The geography remains puzzling, despite the care with which the legends have been imposed on the fine modern maps given in this handsome edition. It is odd, too, to find "*Iters*" given as the plural of *Iter*, throughout. Nevertheless, a picture of Ethiopia before Galla savagery fell upon it emerges. A book appealing mainly to specialists (who must, one supposes, always remain very few), it may yet give a general reader something of the fascination of a good acrostic.

University College of the West Indies

A. P. THORNTON

Modern History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

THE BRITISH PAPER INDUSTRY, 1495-1860: A STUDY IN INDUSTRIAL GROWTH. By D. C. Coleman. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xvi, 367. \$8.80.) In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Britain obtained the greater

part of its paper supplies from the Continent despite the short-lived existence of a few domestic mills, the first of which dated from 1495. But in the latter half of the seventeenth century an industry producing cheap wrapping papers developed, and, under the protection of mercantilist legislation, came to dominate completely the domestic market by the end of the eighteenth century. Although crude water-powered machinery was used in the preparation of the raw materials (mainly rags), papermaking itself remained a hand process until the early decades of the nineteenth century. At that point a French invention, developed and widely adopted in Britain, rapidly mechanized the industry and led to greatly increased output. Further changes came to the industry with the conversion to free trade after 1850 and the substitution of wood pulp for rags as raw material after 1860. Dr. Coleman, drawing his evidence from a wide variety of sources including literary materials, government records, and a few manuscript collections, recounts these major developments in the context of their times. His volume is admirably balanced and about as sprightly and readable as a book can be on such a subject. He gives concise but comprehensive coverage to nearly all the various aspects of the industry within his period: technology, resources, organization, finance, labor problems, taxation, and relations with the government. The major omissions are those which most other British industrial histories share: inadequate attention to foreign commerce and markets and lack of international comparisons, especially for the nineteenth century. On the whole, however, this is a worthy addition to the growing list of excellent industrial histories being produced by British scholars.

University of Wisconsin

RONDO E. CAMERON

ENGLISH PEASANT FARMING: THE AGRARIAN HISTORY OF LINCOLNSHIRE FROM TUDOR TO RECENT TIMES. By *Joan Thirsk*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957. Pp. xv, 350. 40s.) Examination of probate inventories is proving a fruitful source of information for many contemporary historians. In his *Essays in Leicestershire History*, published in 1950, W. G. Hoskins wrote of the need for a detailed examination of the probate inventories of Lincolnshire to extend our knowledge of social structure and farming practice in that part of England. Dr. Joan Thirsk has engaged on this task for the years between 1500 and 1900. She has added considerably to our knowledge of farming practices in wold, fen, and marsh and of the interdependence of these three farming regions. She used sampling in collecting evidence and she defends her median figures as reliable. It is likely that little further generalization can be made, however, until more work is done in manorial and other court records and private muniment rooms. Part of the author's difficulty lies in the magnitude of her subject and the fact that the probate inventories, like other kinds of evidential sources, have their limitations. Dr. Thirsk might have been well advised to have chosen a narrower scope and title for her study; yet she has done work that is worthy of honor as a pioneer study in this area of Lincolnshire history.

University of California, Los Angeles

CLINTON NEWTON HOWARD

THE HOLY PRETENCE: A STUDY IN CHRISTIANITY AND REASON OF STATE FROM WILLIAM PERKINS TO JOHN WINTHROP. By *George L. Mosse*. (Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell, 1957. Pp. 159. 21s.) Professor Mosse takes his title from an anonymous English manuscript of the seventeenth century in which he finds a declaration that a prince, confronted with an unreasonable people, may legitimately work on them by craft and "holy pretence." His closely reasoned analysis, however, actually deals with a much larger issue in the casuistry of the period—Catholic, Anglican, but primarily Puritan—which strove to harmonize a Machiavellian political mentality,

pervaded by considerations of policy, prudence, opportunity, and power, with a continued dedication to the intentions of God. Hence his title is unfortunate, for to us it implies hypocrisy or the use of religion as a stalking horse. What he is urging instead is the intense sincerity of the effort. The same pattern exists in Catholic and Protestant theory, and John Winthrop emerges as the supreme practitioner of it. The book is a welcome refutation of the vulgar notion that Puritans merely used piety to rationalize their lusts. Mosse deals primarily with ethical and political realms, but his admonition ought to be taken to heart by those who insist upon regarding Puritanism as an aspect of economic development or of the class war. Oddly enough, the author waits until the last pages to suggest lightly the most exciting implication of his story: while increasing secularization and the new sciences encouraged the rise of political realism, a more powerful factor was the shift within the theological framework itself, rather than from forces in opposition to it. But within the restricted limits he has set, Mosse makes a fresh contribution to our comprehension of how the Reformation could assimilate Renaissance political ideas.

Harvard University

PERRY MILLER

ILL-STARRED GENERAL: BRADDOCK OF THE COLDSTREAM GUARDS. By *Lee McCardell*. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 335. \$6.00.) This biography is a study of Edward Braddock's life from childhood through European military operations to the last days of defeat and death in North America. The author, a skilled writer with long experience as a foreign correspondent and newspaper editor, has created a genial and readable interpretation that will revivify an important figure in early American history. It is the kind of well-documented book that will appeal to both the general reader and the historian. The man who emerges from these pages is a robust professional soldier invested with personal courage and a certain intransigence on military matters. Neither General Braddock nor his superiors were prepared for the unique problems of logistics in a wilderness campaign. "*Braddock had no choice in overall strategy*"; but, as the book points out in several instances, he was aware of the dangers from an ambush. "Had Braddock been surprised? Had he done his duty?" A number of contemporary opinions from Washington, Franklin, and others are given in answer to these questions. Yet the author makes no attempt at editorial comment, presumably leaving judgment to the reader. If the reader is to judge competently, more evidence from available French documentary material on the battle and the events leading up to it should have been offered. The scenes and episodes of the book are suffused with color and drama. The reader, for example, is exposed to the gaudy life and scoundrelism of Braddock's eighteenth-century England. Leading colonials associated with the General's enterprise in America are expertly portrayed in the narrative. In the beginning the story moves by decades; but as events bring the reader to the brink of the climactic scene of tragedy the action expands into a day-to-day account. Details are ferreted out from a large body of sources on both sides of the Atlantic. Of particular interest are those quotations that give the reader the impression he is part of a conversation between individuals. Examination of sources discloses that these quotations are sentence fragments from letters. The historian will find the author's system of shortened titles occasionally confusing and would value a more comprehensive index.

University of California, Santa Barbara

WILBUR R. JACOBS

WHERE LONDON ENDS: ENGLISH PROVINCIAL LIFE AFTER 1750. BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH COUNTRY TOWN AND THE LIVES,

WORK AND DEVELOPMENT OF PROVINCIAL PEOPLE THROUGH A PERIOD OF TWO HUNDRED YEARS. By *E. W. Martin*. (Fair Lawn, N. J.: Essential Books. 1958. Pp. 312. \$5.40.) Mr. Martin has written what is essentially a protest against excessive urbanization and a plea for the reorganization of English society along lines of regional or provincial emphasis. Although recognizing the necessity of London and the other metropolitan "conurbations," he prefers to think that the lesser towns (market towns and provincial centers) have a valuable function to perform in preserving the coherence of urban and rural life. This is no doubt a worthy conception, and worthy also is the plan of a topical historical discussion of the ways in which provincial life has developed. Unfortunately the task has not been well done. The historical chapters, if the reader survives the first two chapters of general discussion, lean heavily on standard secondary works and make little original contribution. In various places, such as in the discussion of industrial development and in the chapter on religion, the treatment takes on such a general character as to be almost irrelevant. The author seems to lose sight of his subject and then suddenly to recollect himself without effectively fitting his material together. His style, involved, rough, and grating, and his thought, shot through with examples of *nonsequitur*, give the reader a difficult time. Perhaps the chapter on newspapers, which brings out the richness of the provincial press—varying all the way from the *Manchester Guardian* to the fugitive eighteenth-century *Berkshire Chronicle* of Faringdon—is the most instructive and consistently worked out.

Brown University

CHESTER KIRBY

GEORGIAN OXFORD: UNIVERSITY POLITICS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *W. R. Ward*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 296. \$6.00.) Dr. Ward has given us another volume in the growing library of eighteenth-century political history. The study is a worthy addition that throws considerable light on Oxford parliamentary and university politics. In nine brief pages the prologue establishes the condition and administrative authority of the university. It also gives an excellent survey of the political pressures that were exerted on Oxford. This passage deserves high praise; however, the high level of presentation is not consistently maintained. The politics under William III and Anne remain confusing. The period of Walpole and the Pelhams is a marked improvement, and the last parts, 1751 to 1780, reach again the excellence of the prologue. It is a pleasure to find this latter lucid description of the intricate political maneuvers that characterized university politics. *Georgian Oxford* argues effectively that the major political influence in university and parliamentary elections was the rivalry within Oxford rather than external pressure. The book illustrates the steady domination of the Tory-inclined "Old Interest" over the Whiggish "New Interest." Until 1714 Oxford remained in high favor with the government because similar ideas dominated both. After 1714 Oxford fell from court grace because it remained true to its old views, which were opposed by the Westminster authorities. In the early decades of George III the court shifted from its reliance on the Whig oligarchs, and Oxford found itself returned to favor. The final reconciliation was the election of Lord North as chancellor of the university. The author has used extensive materials from the various college archives. These sources provide some of the most interesting conclusions, for they make plain the rivalries within the university. Again we find the importance of local politics which has been so vital in the reinterpretation of the eighteenth century. We have much to learn from these particular studies and can only welcome the publication of each new volume.

New York University

JOHN W. WILKES

THE END OF NORTH'S MINISTRY, 1780-1782. By Ian R. Christie. [England in the Age of the American Revolution.] (New York: St Martin's Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 428. \$8.50.) This volume by Mr. Christie must be considered as part of a larger project which began with the publication in 1929 of Sir Lewis Namier's epoch-making work *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* and in 1931 of his *England in the Age of the American Revolution*. He had planned to write as many additional volumes as necessary to complete the work from 1763 to 1784; but to the regret of many scholars in this field he turned his attention to two periods of European history. Now that he is devoting his full time to the monumental *History of Parliament* he has taken advantage of the fact that some of his able young collaborators in this project are in a position to write volumes on different periods of the years from 1754 to 1784. It is against this background that Christie's work must be considered. By his own admission the author became interested in the subject of this book because he wished to discover if the picture Namier painted in *The Structure of Politics* was still valid in 1780. The two questions he set himself to answer were: "How secure in the support of parliament was the North ministry during the last two chequered years of its existence? By what process was its position undermined after Great Britain's final defeat in the American War of Independence?" The organization of the subject matter indicates how he attempted to find the answers. After a short introductory chapter on the problems of the government and the reasons for the decision to dissolve Parliament, Christie devotes over a hundred pages to the general election of 1780 and then in shorter chapters deals with the House of Commons of 1780, North's government and the new House of Commons, Yorktown, and the crisis within the ministry, and the parliamentary crisis. By all odds the most significant sections of the work are the chapters on the general election of 1780 and on the analysis of the House of Commons that was elected. While not as revolutionary as Professor W. T. Laprade's interpretation of the general election of 1784, Christie has shown that the commonly accepted one of the outcome in 1780 is wrong. The favorable news from America and the increased prestige that George III's courageous conduct at the time of the Gordon riots gave to the government did not, as expected, increase the size of its majority. The remainder of the volume is devoted to the details of how the position of the North ministry was undermined after the news of Yorktown reached England. It is unfair to criticize the author for not continuing to 1784 the history of the House elected in 1780, since he distinctly limited himself to the period ending with the resignation of North. It is nevertheless disappointing not to know how these same groups and individual members acted and voted during the short ministries of Rockingham, Shelburne, and Portland, and during Pitt's first three months. The reviewer fervently hopes that Christie or someone equally competent will continue the history of the House of Commons elected in 1780 until its dissolution, and will treat the election of 1784 as he has treated that of 1780.

Western Reserve University

DONALD GROVE BARNES

THE HOUSE OF LORDS IN THE AGE OF REFORM, 1784-1837, WITH AN EPILOGUE ON ARISTOCRACY AND THE ADVENT OF DEMOCRACY, 1837-1867. By A. S. Turberville. (London: Faber and Faber; distrib. by Essential Books, Fair Lawn, N. J. 1958. Pp. 519. \$9.00.) The wealth of material accumulated by the late Professor Turberville to complete his trilogy on the House of Lords from 1688 until the end of the nineteenth century has been enlarged, rearranged, and edited. This work was done by Mr. R. J. White of Downing College, Cambridge, though his name

does not appear on the title page. As was true of the author's *The House of Lords in the Reign of William III* and *The House of Lords in the Eighteenth Century*, the present volume reveals an intimate knowledge of sources, political issues, and leading personalities. Although it is well known that the Lords were generally against reform, the story here told is cleverly enriched by relevant anecdotes and apposite details. The canvas is broader than the title indicates, for it depicts the role of the British upper house in both government and politics and shows the part the peers played in the economic and social life of Britain. Turberville's comparison of the Scottish and Irish representation in the House of Lords, the survey of its work as a court of law, the clear vignettes of leading secular and spiritual peers, as well as the lists of new peerages, of representative peers from Scotland and Ireland, and of occupants of the episcopal bench which appear in the appendixes will all prove very useful. Though the author makes many sharp statements about individual lords, his summary indicates that he believes the House of Lords during the period surveyed was rich in talent. If that be true, it is the more puzzling that this venerable body showed so little understanding of contemporary problems. But perhaps this only illustrates the truth of John Bright's famous aphorism: "The trouble with great thinkers is that they so often think wrong." *University of Wisconsin*

PAUL KNAPLUND

THE CHARTIST CHALLENGE: A PORTRAIT OF GEORGE JULIAN HARNEY. By A. R. Schoyen. [Kingswood Social History Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1958. Pp. viii, 300. \$5.50.) Dr. Schoyen, in his remarkably able and interesting book, uses the life of Harney as a connecting thread for a general account of Chartism. Though he has exploited the Cowen, Howell, Lovett, and Place collections, he acknowledges as his main source the Chartist and working-class radical newspapers and periodicals; and he deserves credit for building from such unhandy materials so successful and convincing a reconstruction. His narrative shows maturity, insight, and humor. Harney stood at the extreme left of the Chartist movement and exhibited more than any other of its leaders an intransigent hostility to political cooperation with the middle classes. A study centered on him necessarily emphasizes the more radical aspects of Chartism, its economic and social as well as its political content. The author does full justice, particularly in his treatment of O'Connor, to the regressive and agrarian aspects of Chartism, but the weight of his evidence suggests that students may have made too much of these and that the economic content of Chartism was not merely implicit but, to a substantial degree, explicit and deliberately formulated. Harney published articles by Engels in the *Northern Star* as early as 1843, became by May, 1846, an active member of the London committee of the Communist Corresponding Society, which has been called the "earliest Communist international," and remained in close contact with Engels and to a lesser extent with Marx through a large part of the 1840's and early 1850's. He was not, however, a Marxist. Marx and Engels cultivated him because of his role in the British working-class movement, but they could not control him and appear to have had no important theoretical influence over him. They regarded his attempt to keep in touch with other political refugees as a betrayal, they despised the catholicity of his editorial policy, and they particularly resented the fact that, though he admired Marx, he displayed a comparable enthusiasm for Marx's ideological enemy Proudhon. Schoyen believes that they as well as later writers greatly underrated Harney's abilities and insight. He argues that Harney was not simply indiscriminating as Marx and Engels thought him, but actually showed far more prescience than they of what was to be the future of English radicalism, and anticipated by more

than half a century the empirical British working-class leaders who attempted to build a non-Marxist socialist state.

State University of Iowa

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE

DEAN CHURCH: THE ANGLICAN RESPONSE TO NEWMAN. By *B. A. Smith*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 334. \$4.80.) As an Oxford undergraduate Richard William Church (1815-90) developed a lasting sympathy with the tract writers and their objectives, although, unlike Newman, he was never inclined to carry a principle to a politically unworkable extreme or tempted to "go to Rome." Toward the end of his life he wrote the well-known history of the Oxford Movement. In this first biography of him since 1894, the author obviously shares his convictions and assumes the validity of the high church outlook. Nevertheless, this is much more than an adulation of a great ecclesiastical statesman. Mr. Smith feels that but for Dean Church's unostentatious efforts, "the Establishment and all that it stands for might well have foundered" in the half century after Newman's desertion, and he presents an impressive case. After the tractarian collapse the future dean reconsidered the church-state relationship in the light of his medieval studies, and then helped the loyal high church party recover its bearings by restating the problem in the spirit of Hooker and Butler (and, one might add, of Burke). In 1871 Gladstone rescued him from the obscurity of a country parish by making him Dean of St. Paul's, and thereafter consulted him frequently about important ecclesiastical appointments. Church not only helped Gladstone improve the caliber of the Establishment's leading personnel, but also steered the high church party toward a guarded peace with liberalism. Smith has certainly made it clearer than it was before how the high church group proceeded from the time of Newman to the time of Charles Gore. He also provokes reflection on several points that he does not treat: for example, whether R. W. Church as early as 1850 had not anticipated the political pluralism of Figgis. Smith's craftsmanship as a biographer, incidentally, is excellent.

West Babylon, New York

HOWARD R. MURPHY

GALLOPING HEAD: THE LIFE OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR FRANCIS BOND HEAD, BART., P.C., 1793-1875, LATE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF UPPER CANADA. By *Sydney Jackman*. (London: Phoenix House Ltd. 1958. Pp. 191. 25s.) Francis Bond Head is chiefly remembered because of his resistance to responsible government in Canada and his relation to the Rebellion of 1837. During the remainder of his eighty-two years he lived in relative obscurity. His literary works are long forgotten, with the exception of those touching on his Canadian experiences and of his earlier travels in South America. Since the publication of the short biography by Read almost sixty years ago, no full-scale account of his life has appeared, though his part in the Rebellion has been scrutinized by a number of scholars. The present biography deals briefly with his career as a young officer, his South American experience, and at greater length with his life as a literary man. Almost one-third is devoted to his association with Canada. The author has used the Head family papers as well as some of the standard secondary works relating to Head's life. He disavows any attempt to write a history of Upper Canada during Head's governorship. In attempting to keep the focus on Head rather than on his environment, Jackman is prone to oversimplify, particularly in his descriptions of Canadian political life during Head's tenure in office. Despite its scholarly paraphernalia this book will not appeal to the specialist; it provides no new interpretation and little or no new information. It is a generally well-written description of an unreconstructed Tory who possessed great courage and no

small ability. Jackman presents a sympathetic portrait of a man who has been too often maligned.

University of California, Los Angeles

JOHN S. GALBRAITH

THE INDEPENDENT IRISH PARTY, 1850-9. By J. H. Whyte. [Oxford Historical Series, British Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 201. \$4.00.) This book examines a nearly forgotten episode in nineteenth-century Irish history: the attempt between 1850 and 1859 of a group of Irish members to win from Parliament by the method of "independent opposition" a tenant right bill. Some of this story has, of course, been told earlier: by A. M. Sullivan in *New Ireland* (1877) and more thoroughly by Gavan Duffy in *The League of the North and South* (1886). Duffy's book has always been valuable. He was a leading figure in the post-1848 fight for tenants' rights, defending the cause in *The Nation*; and as a member for New Ross from 1852 to 1855 he saw the parliamentary fight at first hand. His book, however, has a central defect. It ends the story in 1855, when he decided to emigrate to Australia. Mr. Whyte puts into new perspective Duffy's role in relation to that of other leaders such as George Henry Moore and Frederick Lucas; and he also shows that the movement went on until 1859. In view of the later activities of Butt and Parnell, the failure of this earlier attempt to push Parliament toward Irish reform becomes exceedingly interesting. In his search for an explanation of that failure, Whyte explores the Irish electoral structure in the fifties, the influence of landlords and clergy, the role of patronage, and the failure of the leadership. Not least among the reasons for the demise of "independent opposition" was the difference of opinion among Irish members as to what they ultimately meant by nonsupport of a British ministry. It is interesting to note that during the election of 1857 it was suggested that the answer might be found in subordination to a leader, or by majority vote of the party. This well-written book is based on manuscript sources, parliamentary papers, contemporary accounts, and an extensive study of Irish newspapers. Whyte has not only written an important piece of parliamentary history; he has also revealed some little-understood continuities between the O'Connell-Young Ireland era and that of Parnell.

Connecticut College

HELEN F. MULVEY

DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919-1939. First Series, Volume VII, 1920. Edited by Rohan Butler and J. P. T. Bury. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1958. Pp. xxix, 744. \$13.86 postpaid.) Devoted entirely to the First Conference of London, which lasted from February 12 to April 10, 1920, this volume deals primarily with the preparation of the ill-fated treaty of peace with Turkey. Among its secondary themes are the tangled issue of Fiume and the Adriatic, Allied policy toward Soviet Russia, negotiations with the Netherlands for the extradition of William II, and the Allied reaction to the Kapp Putsch in Germany. The documents consist of minutes prepared by the British Secretary Sir Maurice Hankey or a member of his staff. For the most part they were subsequently circulated for approval by the principal delegates. Just as Volume VI of this series presented an outline of the chaos in Central Europe, so Volume VII reveals equal confusion to the east, in Russia and Turkey. Lack of information about Russia, which was endemic from the time of the October Revolution, led the conferees to spend long hours trying to answer the question: "Should the Allies, through the agency of the League of Nations, take steps to ascertain what was really happening in Russia?" The issue, of course, was recognition of the Soviet government, but it was also the unwillingness of the French government to concede anything like a significant

role to the new League of Nations. Descriptions of what was happening in Russia given by Signor Nitti, Viscount Chinda, M. Berthelot, and Mr. Lloyd George remind one of the blind men and the elephant, each delegate feeling that part of the beast most suited to his purpose. The mandates system with regard to Turkey embarrassed the delegates, particularly the French and Italians. They did not quite see, however, how they could back away from it except by a judiciously generous interpretation of the meaning of a mandate. The position of the United States, whether in regard to Turkey or to the Adriatic, was before the delegates throughout the conference. Irritation was caused by President Wilson's silence after his collapse and the possibility that he might nevertheless later insist on modification of the agreements reached in London. It is ironic, in the light of subsequent events, to note how confident Berthelot was that France had the Emir Faisal in its pocket and how scathing he was in describing the Zionist movement. Finally, these documents reveal how skillfully Lloyd George selected his long passages from the minutes of this conference for inclusion in *The Truth about the Peace Treaties*. On the whole, he comes out better in his own book than in the minutes, which amply document his miscalculation of Greek strength and Turkish weakness. The chapter summaries are excellent, and the editorial conditions remain the same as for previous volumes.

Rutgers University

HENRY R. WINKLER

AUSTRALIA IN THE WAR OF 1939-1945. Series Two (Navy). Volume I, ROYAL AUSTRALIAN NAVY, 1939-1942. By *G. Hermon Gill*. (Canberra: Australian War Memorial; Sydney: Angus and Robertson Ltd. 1957. Pp. xviii, 686. 30s.) This, the first of two projected volumes on the Australian Navy in World War II, takes the story up through the fall of the Netherlands Indies in March, 1942. In telling the story of the Australian Navy, C. Hermon Gill has had to tell much of that of the British Navy also, for the Australian effort was inextricably welded into that of the Commonwealth as a whole. He has, in general, achieved an excellent balance in reserving detailed treatment for actions in which Australian naval units were involved while never losing sight of the main threads of the naval war during these critical years. The book is written in lively, readable style, and is unburdened by any excessive naval jargon. Accompanying maps are well done and very helpful.

Office, Chief of Military History

ROBERT W. COAKLEY

AUSTRALIA IN THE WAR OF 1939-1945. Series Three (Air). Volume II, AIR WAR AGAINST JAPAN, 1943-1945. By *George Odgers*. (Canberra: Australian War Memorial; Sydney: Angus and Robertson Ltd. 1957. Pp. xiii, 533. 25s.) This book tells for the first time the full story of the Royal Australian Air Force in the Pacific War and Burma from 1943 to the defeat of Japan in August, 1945. It is based upon all the relevant Australian records, numerous Japanese documents made available to the author when he visited General Headquarters in Tokyo for six weeks in 1951, and assorted United States materials. The book is sound, well written, well organized, and carefully documented. It provides the reader with excellent maps, photographs, charts, and diagrams. Though it boasts an excellent index, it unfortunately does not provide a bibliography. The volume is a distinct contribution to the literature on the Pacific War and an absolute "must" for every serious student of that conflict. Besides a clear analysis of the "widespread and varied operations" of the RAAF, one finds interesting sidelights on MacArthur, his relations with the Australians, and the peculiar functioning of his public-relations mind. The reader gets a ringside seat on a number of family spats. He also learns that there was a healthy conflict of opinion on the operational

effort necessary to end the war, and he realizes how disgusted the Australians were in being sent out on peripheral operations—Morotai, Tarakan, Labuan, Balikpapan—rather than engaging in the direct drive toward Japan itself. Here is also dramatic on-the-spot reporting of individual combat experiences, of skill, daring, cruelty, and death. The author gives a vivid picture of camp life and the peculiar maneuverings of black market operations among the Allied troops, and of how a can of beer could turn to gold. Some readers may find parts of the volume excessively detailed, but again this is a more human product than one often finds in official war histories. The Australians were good soldiers in the Pacific War; they are good historians, too.

University of Maryland

GORDON W. PRANGE

THE HISTORY OF THE INDIANS IN NATAL. By *Mabel Palmer*. [Natal Regional Survey, Volume 10.] (New York: Oxford University Press for the University of Natal. 1957. Pp. x, 197. \$6.00.) Dr. Palmer, in writing this small book, has adhered closely to the "more light, less heat" slogan of the Fabian Society, on whose executive council she was once a member. She has written in a coldly factual manner designed to acquaint the reader with the major documents relative to the Indian question in South Africa from the 1860's to and including Apartheid. In the purely intellectual sense she has reported in full, but has failed to bring to the reader the warmer human elements in the whole unhappy story except as emotions emerge in terms of occasional violent outbreaks like the Durban riots of January 13, 1949. Her treatment of Mahātma Gandhi in Chapter IV is typical. When approaching Gandhi's great South African victory of 1913, which removed many old and new Indian grievances of that time, Dr. Palmer can only find it in her heart to remark, "Gandhi's action in this matter may be the action of a saint, but one wonders if it was the action of a statesman." As a matter of fact, the book betrays throughout a singular blindness to things Indian. Dr. Palmer insists on interpreting *satyāgraha* [truth force] as "passive resistance," which, of course, it is not. She appears to believe that the word *vaiśya* describes caste rather than social class and thus neglects to mention that Gandhi was born into the *Bania* caste. She is properly concerned with slum conditions in certain Indian sections of Durban and elsewhere and correctly assigns the causes of these disabilities, but seems to develop more indignation over the effect of the "Pegging Act" (Trading and Occupation of Land Restriction Bill) of 1943 as one "designed to confine Indians to ghettos" than she develops over the slum conditions themselves. She appears to acquiesce in the "master race" theory as interpreted in South Africa and sees no hope for democracy there in the sense that Abraham Lincoln understood it in the United States. She does, however, hold out as her solution of the problem the admission of Indians to South African handicrafts and skilled trades. In summary, the book is informational but, on the whole, disappointing.

Andhra University, Waltair, India

ELMER H. CUTTS

ADAMAWA PAST AND PRESENT: AN HISTORICAL APPROACH TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NORTHERN CAMEROONS PROVINCE. By *A. H. M. Kirk-Greene*. (New York: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, London. 1958. Pp. ix, 230. \$5.60.) Although this useful narrative by a British administrator is more of a chronicle than an analysis or interpretation, its description of the last 150 years in the little-known Adamawa Province of Nigeria and the British Cameroons is of interest for two reasons. It brings to light new material on Nigeria's past, and it indicates what can be accomplished in the neglected field of African history. For source material the author has drawn on the narratives of travelers, materials in

German, French, and British geographical and other journals, reports and diaries in the files of local administrations and of trading companies, and on Fulani texts and traditions. The book includes a general description of the province and its peoples, which will make it a useful reference work for the administrative officers for whom it was primarily intended.

*School of Advanced International Studies,
Johns Hopkins University*

VERNON MCKAY

UNDER CHARTERED COMPANY RULE (NORTH BORNEO 1881-1946). By K. G. Tregonning. (Singapore: University of Malaya Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1958. Pp. 250. \$4.80.) This readable, scholarly monograph based extensively on original company papers and on Colonial Office and Foreign Office MSS is the only authoritative account of North Borneo under chartered company rule. Since the chartered company was the sole governing agency, the history of its operations is synonymous with that of North Borneo (*Sabah*). The chapters on the founding of the company, its territorial expansion and administration, natives, and slavery are the most significant ones. The claims of William Clarke Cowie for credit as founder of the company are punctured, and the contributive roles of Alfred Dent and Sir Julian Pauncefote of the Foreign Office are properly established. The rapacity of Rajah Brooke is disclosed as a major cause for the creation of the Borneo Protectorate in 1888. The chartered company not only served as a model for similar companies in Kenya, Nigeria, and Rhodesia, but provided a medium by which the imperial government countered foreign expansion of rival states without increasing financial burdens. Without benefit of economic monopoly but under Colonial Office supervision the company assumed full responsibility for the government of *Sabah*, pledged to abide by the established principles of British colonial policy. Under the streamlined administration of about sixty white officials, drawn primarily from Malaya and belatedly supplemented by indirect rule, *Sabah* by 1941 had attained law and order, a relatively stable economy, sound health and embryonic education programs, and a balanced budget; and it was free of slavery. Japanese occupation set back progress, bankrupted the company, and, in 1946, led to crown colony status for Borneo. The author believes that with its limited resources the company did a remarkable job. The facts bear him out: *Sabah* does not cry for independence; and the stockholders averaged less than 2 per cent return.

University of Illinois

EDGAR L. ERICKSON

EUROPE

LE BAILLIAGE ROYAL DE MONTFERRAND (1425-1556). By André Bossuat. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand, Second Series, Number 5.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1957. Pp. 201.) This is an excellent study of the activities of the royal officials of the bailliage of Montferrand. Professor Bossuat argues that in 1425 Charles VII recognized the duke of Bourbon's claim to the duchy of Auvergne to win his support and at the same time created the bailliage of Montferrand to administer the royal enclaves and to reduce Bourbon authority in that region. He makes an invaluable contribution in describing how the royal officials extended their authority, but the reviewer questions one point in his interpretation. To Bossuat both the kings and the royal officials favored the expansion of the bailliage. He proves his point beyond dispute in regard to the royal officials who wanted the profits of justice, but he offers no concrete evidence that the kings

sought more than what was justly theirs or influenced their officials to act as they did. That the Montferrand officials acted solely on their own initiative is indicated by their eagerness to expand their jurisdiction at the expense of the royal bailliage of Saint-Pierre-le-Moutier as well as of the ducal lands. They also introduced litigation against the Bourbons when the crown needed ducal support and when the Bourbons as regents were in control of the government. If the king and council intervened, it was usually in favor of the dukes and not their own officials. Bossuat does point out that the bailliage officials pursued a policy of expansion far more consistently than the crown and that their violent resistance against adverse royal rulings leaves one with "the impression that royal power . . . is incapable of imposing its will [on them]." Bossuat stresses the strength of municipal rivalries, especially with regard to the location of royal courts. He shows how at first the royal officials interfered with the bourgeois oligarchy of Montferrand in favor of the inferior classes, how the barriers between the oligarchy and the officials gradually dissolved, and how a mixed aristocracy, enabled by office and the purchase of neighboring fiefs, emerged.

Emory University

J. RUSSELL MAJOR

LES RENTES AU XVI^e SIÈCLE: HISTOIRE D'UN INSTRUMENT DE CRÉDIT. By *Bernard Schnapper*. [École pratique des hautes études, VI^e section. Centre de recherches historiques. Affaires et gens d'affaires, Volume XII.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1957. Pp. 309. 1,500 fr.) The financial and social history of the old regime is full of references to *rentes*, but they have never before been subjected to this kind of analysis. Only a legal historian who was interested in the interactions between judicial decisions and social and economic phenomena could have accomplished the task. The data have been drawn from the records of the Parlement of Paris and from notarial records in the Châtelet. Under a rigorous statistical analysis they have yielded highly original results. This is not a study of the *rente* in general, but rather of that particular form of *rente* which, in response to the greatly increased demand for credit in the sixteenth century, and with the aid of the judiciary, was transformed into an important instrument of credit. The *rente* never could take the place of the large-scale merchant's bill of exchange, which De Roover and Lévy-Bruhl have made familiar. A *rente* was not negotiable. For the rest of society, however, it was the only available instrument. To qualify as an instrument of credit, the author argues, the capital must be recoverable. Of the two forms of perpetual *rente* familiar at the opening of the century, the *rente foncière* on the *bail d'héritage* and the *rente constituée* on an alienation à *prix d'argent*, the latter came by mid-century to be treated by the Parlement as always susceptible of repurchase, any clause in the contract to the contrary notwithstanding. This is the decisive event that the author has analyzed in its judicial evolution and in its economic and social consequences. It is to be hoped that readers will exploit to the full the various graphs and tables, e.g., Table III, showing the classes of persons extending or receiving credit, or Table VIII, graphically showing the years when *rentes* on the Hôtel de Ville were floated.

Lawrence College

GORDON GRIFFITHS

L'ORGANISATION ECCLÉSIASTIQUE ET LA PRATIQUE RELIGIEUSE DANS L'ARCHIDIACONÉ D'AUTUN DE 1650 À 1750. By *Thérèse-Jean Schmitt*. [Thèse pour le Doctorat ès Lettres soutenue devant la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Dijon.] (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard & Cie. 1957. Pp. x, 371, 32, cxliii. 3,000 fr.) This is a study of religious life and organization in the archdeaconry of Autun, one of four such administrative subdivisions of the diocese of Autun prior to the

Revolution. There is nothing sanctimonious about Madame Schmitt's treatment of her subject. Here and there men and women of outstanding piety and ability emerge, but the over-all picture of religious life in the three hundred parishes of the archdeaconry is a dismal one of unseemly and petty squabbling between bishops and priests, priests and parishioners, seculars and regulars; of the decay of the material fabric of the Church; assorted clerical irregularities; lay superstition and ignorance of religious fundamentals; overemphasis on the cult of the saints, and so on. Apparently incapable of lifting their souls to the level of the divine, the terribly poor and benighted peasants who made up the great bulk of the population seemed intent on bringing the divine down to their own sordid level. Surprisingly enough, there appears to be a slight improvement in the religious tone of the region as the eighteenth century unfolds, due in large part to the belated establishment in 1680 of a diocesan seminary at Autun. It is to be regretted that the author did not carry her studies to the outbreak of the Revolution. To 1750 the enlightenment seems to have made no discernible impression on religious life in the archdeaconry. One would be interested in learning what impact the *philosophes* made in as backward a region as this one after 1750. This book deserves recognition, nevertheless, as an intensive and valuable study of local religion. It contains precise information on all kinds of religious institutions and practices that are too often treated in vague generalities. It is, of course, of limited value by itself, but joined with similar studies for other representative regions of France it could lead to a scientific reappraisal of religious life in the old regime. The documentation, unfortunately placed at the end of the book, takes up 141 pages of small type. It is a masterpiece of confusion, since the notes follow the fivefold division of the chapters, with the chapters running consecutively in each of the five parts. A portfolio of detailed and well-executed maps of the archdeaconry accompanies the book.

University of Notre Dame

LEON BERNARD

ROYAL FORT FRONTENAC. Texts selected and translated from the French by *Richard A. Preston*. Edited with introduction and notes by *Léopold Lamontagne*. [Publications of the Champlain Society, Ontario Series, Number 2.] (Toronto: the Society. 1958. Pp. xxx, 503.) The volume is a well-chosen and balanced collection of documents designed to illustrate the history of France's most important military establishment on Lake Ontario. Beginning with the early missionary interest in the region, the collection covers especially the founding of the fort, La Salle's command, the war with the Iroquois, the uneasy peace from then until the Seven Years' War, and the fort's destruction. Both French originals and English translations, the latter ably done by Professor Preston, are included. A careful introductory essay by Professor Lamontagne, biographical appendixes, a bibliography, as well as contemporary maps and plans, add much to the value of this collection.

University of Toronto

R. M. SAUNDERS

THE POLITICAL USES OF HISTORY: A STUDY OF HISTORIANS IN THE FRENCH RESTORATION. By *Stanley Mellon*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1958. Pp. 226. \$5.00.) Stanley Mellon's liberals and conservatives speak in the courtrooms and parliamentary debates of the Restoration, but above all in its history books. The liberals are new at the historical craft, having presumably been too busy between 1789 and 1814 to learn it, and in any case not properly trained by their *philosophes* predecessors. The conservatives are at home in history, having devoted much of their enforced leisure between 1789 and 1814 to proving that the Revolution was an abnormal break in continuity. With the Restoration, however, the roles are re-

versed. The Revolution is now history and the liberals are the outsiders with leisure and incentives to fit the recent past into French and European traditions. History permits them to defend the Revolution to the new generation while stirring up quarrels in the old: one way of breaking up the Restoration coalition of monarchy, aristocracy, and clergy (those rivals under the old regime, whom the Revolution had united). Mellon's book is very successful in describing "the political uses of history." The historical offensive of the liberals becomes, of necessity, his main story, but he does justice to their opponents. His sources are plentiful and have been given little attention by other scholars. His demonstrations are convincing as well as interesting; see, for example, the "cases" of La Chalotais, Carnot, and Montlosier. Although historiography is not his principal concern, Mellon's study is a contribution to the history of the Revolution's entry into historical literature. All this cannot fail "to illuminate the politics of the Restoration," as the author intends. It is less certain that he intends to give so strong an impression of cause and effect between the liberals' historical efforts and the downfall of the Restoration regime. One wonders how to assess the strength of the coalition of monarchy, aristocracy, clergy, or the need for "selling the Revolution."

Swarthmore College

PAUL H. BEIK

FRANCE AND THE EUROPEAN ALLIANCE, 1816-1821: THE PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN METTERNICH AND RICHELIEU. By *Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny, C. J. M.* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1958. Pp. xiii, 130.) Armand-Emmanuel du Plessis, Duc de Richelieu (1766-1822), served twice as French premier (1815-18, 1820-21) under Louis XVIII. His negotiations with Russia and Great Britain are covered in the documentary collections edited by Polovtsov and Charléty respectively, but less is available on his dealings with Austria. He and Metternich supplemented their official dispatches by an exchange of personal letters. Some twenty-five of these are published here for the first time, with a succinct running commentary and pertinent notes. Though of minor value as source material, the letters are interesting for the light they shed on Richelieu's little-known personality.

Ithaca, New York

GEOFFREY BRUUN

LA LUTTE OUVRIÈRE À LA FIN DU SECOND EMPIRE. By *Fernand L'Huillier*. [Cahiers des *Annales*, XII.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1957. Pp. 81. 450 fr.) The period of the 1860's was one of the most formative for the French trade-union movement. During this decade workers gained the right to strike and toleration for their still illegal trade-unions. The period closed with one of the greatest strike waves of nineteenth-century France. L'Huillier traces the origins, progress, and results of the strikes in the provinces, where the more important occurred. He attributes labor discontent primarily to working conditions and wages, whose real value probably fell during the last years of the Second Empire. Rivalry between the government and the opposition parties for the favor of the working class, however, also helped to create an environment favorable for strikes. The author distinguishes between the strikes of 1869 and those of 1870, when political factors and the First International played a greater role. The high point of the movement came with the two strikes at Le Creusot. Although the strikers failed to gain their demands, the bitter conflicts led to increasing class consciousness among workers in large-scale industry—a group that had previously shown little interest in the political and social objectives of the working class. This short volume, which uses extensively the Archives Nationales and the pro-

vincial archives, has by no means exhausted the subject of the strike wave of 1869-1870. The role of the First International is still unclear, and the author himself suggests the need for studies of particular strikes. L'Huillier has also attempted a *caractérologie* of the working class. What emerges is additional evidence to support Duveau's account of the diversity of the French working class during the Second Empire.

San Jose State College

DAVID I. KULSTEIN

DUTCH-ASIATIC TRADE, 1620-1740. By *Kristof Glamann*. (Copenhagen: Danish Science Press; The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958. Pp. xi, 334. Cloth d.kr. 42., paper d.kr. 35.) This important study, based on extensive research in Dutch archives, will replace the pioneering work of Klerck De Reus (1894) as the standard treatment of the commerce of the Dutch East India Company during its heyday. Besides making available a great deal of new material, it suggests some revisions in the conventional picture of the company. The major part of the book consists of a detailed treatment, chapter by chapter, of the main items of trade handled by the company: pepper, spices, silk, textiles, sugar, copper, coffee, and tea. In each case the product itself, the sources of supply, the variations in supply and demand in the European markets, the changing role played in company plans, and much more, are discussed at length. Additional chapters deal with the company's organization, its exports to the East (largely bullion), and its bookkeeping practices. There is here a mass of data, a mine of information, for the economic historian. There are sixty-eight tables, including a valuable listing of prices at Amsterdam for the major items handled from 1649 to 1740. The author emphatically states that the company was not a static monopoly, and shows why it was not. Its trade was *not* based largely on spices, the one item on which it held a practical monopoly; spices made up a quarter to a third of the trade. Nor did the character of the trade remain the same. The largest single item was at first pepper, but by 1700 textiles had replaced it. By 1740, coffee and tea were more important than spices. The company was engaged in continual competition with other European companies and with Asiatic traders. Coupled with shifts in supply and demand, this presented a constantly changing situation for the board of directors to deal with. The intra-Asian trade of the company was more important than has been realized, and the need for balancing its demands against the demands of the European market produced further complications. The rise of demand for textiles after 1680, for example, upset the company's intra-Asian trade considerably. The author's well-documented conclusion is that the commerce of the Dutch East India Company was characterized by "competition and changeableness rather than monopoly and constancy." Some minor faults should be noted. The organization of the mass of material presented is not a model of clarity, and the general reader will often feel overwhelmed by the flood of detail. A summary chapter would help. There are no maps. The English translation, though usually understandable, is seldom felicitous. Short passages in Dutch—and there are many of them—are left untranslated. Such faults are annoying, but will not lessen the book's importance.

Case Institute of Technology

DIRK W. JELLEMA

DER AUSSENHANDEL UND DIE SCHIFFFAHRT FINNLANDS IM 18. JAHRHUNDERT UNTER BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DER UMBRUCHSPERIODE DER HANDELSFREIHEIT IM BOTTNISCHEN MEERBUSEN UND DER GROSSEN SEEKRIEGE. By *Aulis J. Alanen*. [Suomalaisen Tiedeakateman Toimituksia, Sarja-Ser. B Nide, Tom 103.] (Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science

and Letters. 1957. Pp. 495. 2,400 mk.) A Finnish author has devoted this volume to the foreign trade and the merchant marine of Finland during the eighteenth century, emphasizing the periods of breakdown of trade in the Gulf of Bothnia and the great naval wars. Alanen has contributed much to our knowledge of the nascent Finnish merchant marine and its development during the last decades of Swedish rule in Finland. A painstaking researcher, Alanen has also provided valuable information regarding the principal Finnish articles of export, tar and timber, both in great demand in eighteenth-century Europe, as well as iron, textiles, and foodstuffs. This can also be said about his tracing of the flow of the principal items of import, salt, grain, wines, tobacco, textiles, etc. The author has unearthed a wealth of materials in the Finnish, Swedish, Danish, German, Dutch, and to some extent in French and Italian archives. The study of the statistical sources, government documents, business letters, and memoirs is impressive and instructive. The reader also notes the influence of the great Swedish economic historian Dr. Eli F. Heckscher. At times Alanen has not been able to avoid minute detail in order to stress certain points. At other times he shifts back and forth in the wealth of the collected materials. The excursions in the statistical sources, however, are enlivened by vivid descriptions of the life and travels of Finnish sailors and their resort to smuggling during the era of the great revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, when the great powers forced the small nations out of business. The Finns of the nineteenth century were known as great sailors, but their forefathers of the eighteenth century faced great difficulties in getting out of their skerries into the wide stretches of the world oceans. They were inexperienced, lacked capital and acquaintances in the foreign countries, and their country had a foreign master in the Swedes, who were also known as good sailors and merchants, and who quite naturally gave priority to their own interests on the high seas and in the foreign market. Alanen's commendable work has added considerably to our knowledge of seventeenth-century Finland and its relationship to the European community. A wide selection of statistical materials and an extensive bibliography increase the value of the book.

San Jose State College

EDGAR ANDERSON

THE BUILDING OF MODERN SWEDEN: THE REIGN OF GUSTAV V, 1907-1950. By O. Fritiof Ander. [Augustana Library Publications, Number 28.] (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana College Library. 1958. Pp. xix, 271. \$5.75.) The considerable merit of this book is that it really covers the promise of the title page and soberly describes a long process, correcting incidentally certain overstatements from "the middle way" period. It admits that certain parts of the forty-three-year period have been relatively neglected. Factually the work ends in 1945. Professor Ander isolates as far as practicable the political, economic, and social aspects but does not forget the artistic and literary. Though his work is not documented save for an occasional reference to a newspaper or similar source, this does not destroy its considerable merit. The introduction assures us that newspapers, journals, and the works of contemporary Swedes have been used. It can be assumed that the facts of the story are the common knowledge of a cultured Swede. When the non-Swedish reader, however, notices interpretations that call for an important modification of his present ideas, he would appreciate citation of the sources. A Norwegian reading this work would note that Ander reckons geographic position as one of nature's gifts to Sweden and would wonder why the point is not made that, though as a whole Sweden traditionally looks east, part of it looks west, as Norway does. Torgny Segerstedt, editor of the great Gothenburg newspaper and a hero in Norway, does not appear in the book. When he died in 1945 the *New York Times* recorded that his outspoken anti-Nazi views had been a thorn in the side of the

Hansson (Hanson in the index!) ministry, which had therefore suppressed many issues of his newspaper. Per Albin Hansson and Hjalmar Branting, two Social-Democratic leaders, are almost the heroes of Ander's book, Branting for what he did for Sweden and the League of Nations and Hansson for what he was—an errand boy who rose to be a prime minister, loved both by the Swedes and by their king.

University of Oklahoma

LESLIE F. SMITH

L'EXPANSION ALLEMANDE OUTRE-MER DU XV^e SIÈCLE À NOS JOURS. By *Henri Brunswig*. [Collection internationale de documentation. Pays d'outre-mer: colonies, empires, pays autonomes. Première série: études coloniales, Number 9.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1957. Pp. 208. 800 fr.) In this brief account of German overseas expansion Professor Brunswig has brought together into one convenient volume the results of some of the researches of recent decades into German colonial history. The author makes no pretensions to original research; nor can one say that he has made full use of all the works published in recent years on German colonialism. Basically, he has combined the story told by Miss Mary E. Townsend in 1930 in *The Rise and Fall of the German Colonial Empire, 1884-1918*, with that told in 1950 by P. E. Schramm in *Deutschland und Übersee*. Despite these shortcomings the result is a needed and readable sketch of German colonial history from earliest times down to 1939, when Hitler abandoned a doctrinaire opposition to an overseas colonial empire and demanded the restoration to Germany of her former colonies. One is actually half way through the book before reaching Bismarck and his creation of Germany's overseas empire. Bismarck is pictured as one who subordinated colonial policy to foreign policy. Dernburg, who headed Germany's first colonial office in 1907, is credited with the creation of an intelligent and constructive colonial policy, one more or less independent of foreign policy. The shortcomings of Germany's colonial rule are ascribed fundamentally to the absence in Germany of any strong humanitarian movement idealistically concerned with the welfare of the peoples living in colonial territories.

Yale University

HARRY R. RUDIN

CONRAD CELTIS: THE GERMAN ARCH-HUMANIST. By *Lewis W. Spitz*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. x, 142. \$3.25.) This careful monograph will be useful in several important respects. As a biographical and interpretive study of an individual humanist, it is the kind of work badly needed in an area of concern in which broad generalization has usually been all out of proportion to concrete investigation. Celtis, the first German laureate, is of some interest for his personal accomplishments. He was, Professor Spitz believes, the best poet produced by German humanism. He brought to light the works of the tenth-century nun Roswitha of Gandersheim, and his own religious speculations reveal striking theistic and naturalistic tendencies. But Celtis also emerges, as the author presents him, a particularly strategic figure for the understanding of German humanism as a whole. A typically itinerant and perhaps typically unreliable personality, he was associated with most of the centers of early humanist activity in Germany and with nearly every German humanist before the impact of Erasmianism; indeed his role in organizing informal associations of humanists in both the Rhineland and Danube regions makes him very nearly the father of German humanism as a self-conscious movement. Even more significant in this respect was his formulation of a program for the movement. His travels in Italy, Poland, and Bohemia seem to have stimulated in Celtis an intense cultural nationalism which found expression both in an enthusiasm for the achieve-

ments of medieval German culture and in his proposal, stated with some eloquence, that the stigma of German barbarism be removed in his own time through humane learning. Thus the author provides, in addition to a study of Celtis, an excellent introduction in English to the peculiarities of the German humanist movement. This movement as represented by Celtis seems formally yet on the whole substantially Christian, only superficially in conflict with scholasticism; distinctively national and medieval in its interests; enthusiastic and uncritical in tone. This is an interpretation that generally supports Gerhard Ritter's conservative view of German humanism and its historical significance. Ritter's position needs precisely such support as this book provides.

University of California, Berkeley

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA

THE INFLUENCE OF ERASMUS, WITZEL AND CASSANDER IN THE CHURCH ORDINANCES AND REFORM PROPOSALS OF THE UNITED DUCHEES OF CLEVE DURING THE MIDDLE DECADES OF THE 16th CENTURY. By *John Patrick Dolan, C. S. C.* [Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Heft 83.] (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1958. Pp. xv, 119. DM 9.80.) The works of Renaudet, Bataillon, and others have revealed in Erasmianism a serious concern for religious unity and an eagerness to substitute a religion of personal sanctity and inner experience for the frequently divisive emphasis on doctrine. The Erasmian *via media* had obvious advantages for secular rulers; and Cleves, long exposed to the *Devotio moderna* and dedicated to religious and political neutrality, provided an unusually favorable atmosphere for an attempt to apply Erasmian reform during the unsettled period before the end of the Council of Trent. The present work offers an analysis of the series of reform proposals sponsored, though little applied, by the rulers of Cleves, and demonstrates their Erasmian character by comparing them with the views of Erasmus, George Witzel, and George Cassander. While the Biblical, moral, and spiritual emphasis of the proposals reveals the general influence of Erasmus, the author feels that their social and especially their liturgical character goes beyond Erasmus and must have come from Witzel and Cassander. Witzel in particular saw in liturgy a principle of spiritual union and proposed its revival through a return to earlier forms. Father Dolan's description of the Cleves proposals is useful; his demonstration of their Erasmianism is convincing; and his association of Erasmianism with liturgical revival is particularly interesting. Yet the author's tendency to accept similarities of conception as sufficient proof of individuals' specific influence suggests an inadequate sense of the degree to which Erasmianism was a general movement; and the impression is deepened by the absence of the names of Renaudet, Bataillon, and other recent students of Erasmianism from his bibliography. It is excellent to learn more of Witzel and Cassander, but they must be presented in a fuller context if their peculiar contributions are to be understood.

University of California, Berkeley

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA

BISMARCK'S ERBEN, 1890-1945: DEUTSCHLANDS WEG VON WILHELM II. BIS ADOLF HITLER. By *Martin Göhring*. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. 1958. Pp. viii, 386.) This survey of German foreign policy during the last half century is intended for the general reader rather than for the specialist. It does not present any new discoveries or interpretations, but tries to incorporate the latest findings of other scholars. Almost half the book is devoted to the period since 1933. Its general theme is to show that the course of German history from Bismarck to Hitler was not inevitable but that the German tragedy was due to an unfortunate combination of cir-

cumstances. Considering the vast ground he has to cover and the many touchy problems he has to tackle, Professor Göhring has performed his task well. On the whole, this is an objective and open-minded book, free from the special pleading that has sometimes characterized the work of German historians in the past. The author leans over backward to be fair in his judgment of individuals. His story has two real villains—William II and Hitler. Its heroes are Bismarck, of course, as well as Stresemann and Brüning. In the case of the latter two one might have wished for more critical judgment. This also holds for men like Bülow, Kiderlen-Wächter, Hindenburg, and Ludendorff, whose negative traits and policies are either ignored or not sufficiently stressed. There are other instances in which the author's velvet glove is all too evident. Bismarck would be amused to learn that many an error "crept into" his *Gedanken und Erinnerungen*; and Ludendorff would be surprised to read that Germany's main intention at Brest-Litovsk was "to erect a dam against the flood of Bolshevism." The statement that Germany's military leaders on the eve of World War II were "inwardly opposed to war and besides it came much too early for them," seems somehow contradictory. The instances, however, in which the author tends to see events in too favorable a light are balanced by his unequivocal position on other sensitive subjects. The statement that Germany was the initiator of the pre-1914 armaments race, the admission that the Treaty of Versailles "was hardly any harsher than the peace which Germany's annexationists intended to offer their enemies," and the reminder that the forced evacuation of millions of Germans from Central and Eastern Europe after World War II was "an answer to the methods of the Third Reich"—these and other passages show the author's sincere effort to give an unbiased view of Germany's recent past. It is to be hoped that the book finds the wide audience for which it was written.

Johns Hopkins University HANS W. GATZKE

PEACE MOVES AND U-BOAT WARFARE: A STUDY OF IMPERIAL GERMANY'S POLICY TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES, APRIL 18, 1916-JANUARY 9, 1917. By *Karl E. Birnbaum*. [Stockholm Studies in History, Number 2.] (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. 1958. Pp. xxi, 388. Cloth sw.kr. 35., paper sw.kr. 30.) This study does much to provide details of a story whose basic parts have long been known through memoirs and the investigation of the Reichstag in 1919. It will be interesting to those concerned with American intervention or with the inner workings of the Imperial government and relationships among the Central Powers. The author has based his work primarily on documents of the German Foreign Ministry and the German Admiralty, as well as others in the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry, the National Archives in Washington, the House collection, and the Wilson and Lansing papers at the Library of Congress. The result is a very orderly and instructive account of this limited period in which military and naval considerations increasingly pointed to the necessity of unrestricted use of the submarine, while Bethmann-Hollweg was still hoping for a negotiated peace favorable to Germany or at least for the creation of a diplomatic situation in which unrestricted U-boat warfare could be carried on without bringing about war with the United States. The book includes extensive quotations from hitherto unpublished documents, both in the text and in a thirty-three-page appendix. Partly because of the nature of his materials the author emphasizes the shifts with respect to submarine warfare more than he does the details of the peace moves. But he clearly places the submarine question against the background of internal political considerations—of Reichstag and public opinion—and shows the effects of military and naval success or failure on proposals for U-boat use, or for launching or encouraging a peace feeler. In assessing the roles of various German leaders, Birnbaum

makes few really critical judgments. The central figure is Bethmann, but Bernstorff's relations with House, Zimmermann's suspicions that Wilson would intervene directly in any peace settlement, and Holtzendorff's stiffening attitude when criticism came within the Navy of his lack of leadership are all set forth. Birnbaum shows sympathy for Bethmann's difficulties but also believes that he erred in not making it clear that the high command virtually forced him on January 9 to agree to unrestricted submarine warfare (he was so conscious of the necessity of preserving the semblance of unity within the government), and in not presenting to the high command his belief that a continuation of American peace efforts still might make it possible to use the U-boats and yet preserve peace with America. If one doubts that there was any real hope of such peace efforts resulting in an end of hostilities, one may say, of course, that Bethmann's failure may have affected his reputation but not the ultimate break with the United States.

Western Reserve University

MARION C. SINEY

DER ERSTE WIDERHALL IN DER DEUTSCHEN ARBEITERKLASSE AUF DIE GROSSE SOZIALISTISCHE OKTOBERREVOLUTION UND DEN FRIEDENSVORSCHLAG DER SOWJETREGIERUNG. By *W. G. Brjunin*. [Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften des Instituts für Geschichte. Reihe III: Vorträge und Tagungen des Instituts für Geschichte, Band 1.] (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957. Pp. 44. DM 1.80.) The thesis of this brief pamphlet, published in East Berlin, is the great impact that the Russian revolutions of 1917 and Lenin's peace appeal had upon the German masses. The author has some difficulty proving this, since he restricts his data to the short period from July to December, 1917, in which Independent Socialists and Spartacists vainly attempted to arouse the workers to mass demonstrations and revolutionary actions. Blamed for the penchant for legality among the workers are the German government, the military high command, the Social Democrats, and the trade-unions. Although this is not a propaganda tract, the pamphlet lacks a desired objectivity in certain sections. The bulk of the material has been gathered from archives in the Soviet zone of Germany and includes documents from the Reich chancellery and the Ministry of the Interior.

University of Massachusetts

GERARD BRAUNTHAL

REICHSWEHRPOLITIK IN DER WEIMARER ZEIT. By *Otto Gessler*. Edited by *Kurt Sendtner*. Foreword by *Theodor Heuss*. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1958. Pp. 582. DM 29.50.) Otto Gessler was one of the outstanding figures and pillars of the Weimar Republic. From the Kapp *Putsch* of 1920 to the Lohmann scandal of 1928 he occupied a most important position as minister of defense. Urged on by his friend Theodor Heuss, Gessler began work on his memoirs during the National Socialist period; these are now posthumously published by Kurt Sendtner. Gessler's memoirs of the pre-1914 era have been replaced by a biographical introduction; the bulk of the volume consists of Gessler's account of the 1920-1928 period (with omissions not indicated by the editor); at the end are selected documents from Gessler's papers, commentaries on other books dealing with his work, and a table of the Weimar cabinets. The volume provides valuable information that is indispensable to historians concerned with the stormy years of Gessler's cabinet tenure. Among the topics are the Kapp *Putsch*, the crises of 1923, the role of Seeckt, and the difficulties arising out of Captain Lohmann's enterprising use of secret government funds. Also included are sketches of many figures from President Ebert to General Groener. Schacht, though with Gessler a prominent member of the Democratic party, is hardly

mentioned. The main focus of attention is on problems related to the Reichswehr. Some of this information was used in Harold Gordon's *The Reichswehr and the German Republic 1919-1926*. The discussion of German-Soviet military cooperation is not convincing; in fact Gessler partly contradicts his own account on pages 199 to 200 in the following section, page 221. His review of German disarmament and the Allied Military Commission seems reminiscent of German propaganda of the 1920's and will not hold up in the face of presently available evidence. If, moreover, both German-Soviet military cooperation and secret rearmament were as insignificant as Gessler maintains—and there is much to be said for this point of view—were they worth the suspicions aroused in the West? Throughout his fascinating account of the political processes in the Weimar government, Gessler stresses the immaturity and shortsightedness of the political parties. His vocal admiration of the Bismarckian system allows for no connection between the flourishing of one-man dominance and the tardy development of mature political consciousness in Germany. It is symptomatic that before the end of his ministerial career Gessler himself had resigned from political party membership. It appears that he believed in a constitutional monarchy in which parties play a minor role while a permanent bureaucracy rules with a decent regard for the wishes—or what ought to be the wishes—of the people.

University of Kentucky

GERHARD L. WEINBERG

DIE MACHTERGREIFUNG: EIN BERICHT ÜBER DIE TECHNIK DES NATIONALSOZIALISTISCHEN STAATSTREICHS. By *Hans Otto Meissner* and *Harry Wilde*. (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1958. Pp. 363. DM 24.) Three years prior to his death in 1953, Otto Meissner, state secretary during the presidencies of Ebert and Hindenburg, published his memoirs in order to neutralize the attempt to credit the German people with collective guilt for World War II and to show "in the interests of Germany" and by virtue of his official insights "what really happened," among other things, in connection with the Weimar Republic's demise. Perhaps no less, however, he wanted to "explain" his relations with Hitler, whose road to the summit was paved by the victimization of Hindenburg, to which Meissner, together with other members of the palace cabal, contributed significantly. In this book Meissner's son Hans and the journalist Harry Wilde achieve their stated purpose in rendering the first comprehensive account of the Nazi *Staatsstreich*, although like Otto Meissner they contribute little to what is already known about the subject. The authors skillfully and often vividly disentangle the web of political intrigues that culminated in Hitler's *Machtergreifung*, but they fail in their unstated attempt to contrive a satisfactory apologia in behalf of Otto Meissner. The latter's political influence, it is true, diminished under Hitler, who retained him as a personal master of ceremonies and lieutenant general in the SS. But to state, as the authors do, that "he was never a member of the NSDAP" glosses over the fact that on January 30, 1937, Hitler awarded him the Gold Party Badge, the party's supreme badge of honor. As a prelude to the detailed description of the Republic's final death rattle, the authors discuss the Communist-Nazi-sponsored Berlin transportation strike of 1932, which contributed psychologically to Hitler's advantage because it raised the specter of a Leftist-Rightist totalitarian coalition, the characteristics of which, however, are not fully analyzed. Although the book is extensively documented and overloaded with various appendixes (why, for example, give extended definitions of such terms as "anarchy," "Comintern," "Reichstag," "Versailles Treaty?"), the bibliographical absence of pertinent English-language sources and especially materials relating to the war crimes trials is obvious.

University of Michigan

KARL W. MEYER

VOLKSOPPOSITION IM POLIZEISTAAT: GESTAPO-UND REGIERUNGS-BERICHTE, 1934-1936. By *Bernhard Vollmer*. [Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, Band 2, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1957. Pp. 399.) The above volume contains one of the few collections of Nazi source materials left in Germany and not taken over by the Allied authorities. It consists of monthly reports by the police president of Aachen to the central headquarters of the Gestapo in Berlin on the political morale of the population in the district. The reports cover the period from March 5, 1934, to April 6, 1936, and are supplemented by reports of the *Regierungspräsident* of Aachen. The reporters, in keeping with instructions from headquarters, classify their data under the following headings: general observations; activities of illegal parties such as the Communists, the Social-Democrats, the Socialist Labor party, monarchists, the Black Front of Otto Strasser; Protestant and Catholic churches; economic and agrarian problems; problems of cultural policies; the NSDAP and its affiliated organizations; Jews and freemasons; and anti-Nazi activities across the border. These reports are presented with a brief introduction by the editor and a detailed index. The first two reports appear in their entirety but the editor has shortened the others to include only those materials that pertain to resistance to the Nazi regime. Like much of the work under way on this period by German scholars, this volume is intended to demonstrate that for this area the outside world's view that the "broad masses of the German people were followers of National Socialism" is untenable. One cannot generalize from this area to Germany as a whole. In the first place, the district involved is anything but typical of the country at large. It is a border area and was thus of easy access to non-Nazi and anti-Nazi sources of information. Of even greater importance, however, is the fact that over 96 per cent of the population of this district were staunch and loyal supporters of the Roman Catholic Church. A study of the contents of the documents shows that by far the greatest part of the opposition came from the Catholic clergy and revolved around immediate problems bearing upon traditional Catholicism such as the neopaganism of Alfred Rosenberg, the activities of the German-Christians, racialism, sterilization, Hitler Youth, violations of currency regulations by priests and nuns. When it comes to questions of foreign policy the reports indicate popular support of the regime. The very last report, coming on the heels of the remilitarization of the Rhineland, states that even the opposition clergy joined in the universal jubilation and enthusiasm that greeted this move by Hitler. Nowhere in any of the reports do we find any indications of serious opposition to the political dictatorship *per se*. The materials presented in the collection do not add anything new to our picture of the Nazi regime. They are, however, very interesting for the local flavor they give to the broader aspects of the totalitarian dictatorship. But only when numerous other such collections from various parts of Germany become available for comparative study will it be possible to speak with some degree of certainty regarding the character and extent of the internal opposition movements during the Nazi epoch. Scholars interested in this period of world history hope and pray that the day may come soon when the huge storehouses of these materials at Alexandria, Virginia, and elsewhere will be unlocked for the free use of scholar and student.

Queens College

KOPPEL S. PINSON

LA SEIGNEURIE DE GENÈVE ET LA MAISON DE SAVOIE DE 1559 À 1593. By *Lucien Cramer*. Tome IV, LA GUERRE DE 1589-1593. By *Alain Dufour*. (Geneva: A. Jullien, Éditeur. 1958. Pp. xvi, 264. 25 fr.S.) Alain Dufour is one of the best equipped young historians in Switzerland. To the training in historical research methods at the École des chartes, which seems almost mandatory for historians in

French Switzerland, he has added training in a multidisciplinary approach to history at the Istituto italiano di studi storici. He makes impressive use of both in this volume. It is the fourth in a series initiated by the late Lucien Cramer, designed to describe completely the tense relations between Geneva, the free republic which at that time was the acknowledged intellectual center of Reformed Protestantism, and Savoy, the neighboring duchy which combined territorial greed with the zeal of a resurgent Catholicism directed from Rome and Spain. The series is based on a mass of manuscript sources gathered by Cramer from governmental archives located in ten and more cities in four countries. Dufour's volume is in many ways the most interesting in the set. This is partly because the period it covers is inherently more dramatic, dealing as it does more with open warfare than with interminable diplomatic intrigues. It is also because Dufour's narrative style is consistently clear, deft, and witty. It is finally because of Dufour's interpolations of brief but telling analyses of the administration and financing of war on both sides, and of graphic descriptions of the unusual brutality and consequent misery that fanaticism brought to this relatively minor war. For explanations of the important events preceding and highlighting the war, Dufour points to combinations of political and religious drives. The balance between the two he often finds unequal, varying by place, persons, and time. It would be interesting to see this theme developed further, perhaps by examining more closely the role of the clerical molders of religious opinion. There are also subsidiary themes which, as Dufour notes, deserve further exploration. These research suggestions and the fresh information this penetrating study contains both deserve the careful attention of historians of sixteenth-century continental history.

State University of Iowa

ROBERT M. KINGDON

IL GOVERNATORE DELLO *ESTADO* DI MILANO (1535-1706). By *Lycia Papini*. (Genoa: Stab. Tipografico A. Pesce, 1957. Pp. 587.) Despite the establishment at Madrid of the Supreme Council of Italy, composed of Spanish and Italian members and directly responsible to the king of Spain, the governors of Spain's Italian provinces enjoyed a large degree of autonomy. Their edicts and policies did much to shape the political, economic, and social development of Italy during the centuries of Spanish domination. Concerned with the governor of the province or *estado* of Lombardy, a fief of the House of Habsburg rather than a possession of Spain, Dr. Papini proposes to clarify his position and authority. Unfortunately, Dr. Papini adds little to our knowledge. While she refers to the rich collection of documents in the Spanish archives of Simancas, Alcalá, and Madrid, she seems to have relied, with few exceptions, on material in the archives and libraries of Milan and on secondary sources. Her actual contribution is an essay which follows, though it might better have preceded, the collection of extracts from various primary and secondary sources that are the bulk of the book. Also included are numerous photographs and photostatic copies of source material. An additional shortcoming is the lack of a detailed table of contents and an index.

Weston, Massachusetts

EMILIANA P. NOETHER

THE ANNALS OF THE UKRAINIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES IN THE U. S., Volume V-VI, Number 4-1, 2. Special Issue, A SURVEY OF UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY, by *Dmytro Doroshenko*; UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY, 1917-1956, by *Olexander Ohloblyn*. (New York: the Academy, 1957. Pp. 456. \$6.00.) This very thorough and insufficiently known work of the late Professor Doroshenko, originally published in Prague in the Ukrainian language at a time when

Czechoslovakia provided a haven for Ukrainian *émigré* scholars, has at last been made available in English translation together with a valuable supplement on the post-1917 period. The volume commences with a treatment of the earlier chronicles (including the less well-known but equally important Galician-Volynian Chronicle of the thirteenth century) and also concentrates on the documents and commentaries dealing with the Zaporozhian Cossack period. Here one also encounters analyses of the works of scores of historians, among whom some of the more prominent are Antonovich, Kostomarov, Drahomanov, Hrushevsky, and Bahaliy. Significant passages are quoted from the more important individual works, and the reader is made aware of the travails of their authors who for the most part were writing under conditions of political oppression within tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union. Professor Ohloblyn, for many years professor of Ukrainian history at the University of Kiev prior to 1943, has prepared an evaluation of the vast amount of Ukrainian historical scholarship undertaken not only in the Soviet Union but also in Poland, Western Europe, and the United States. One is impressed with how much was accomplished during the earlier period in spite of highly unfavorable circumstances. The fact that approximately half of this volume is devoted to Ukrainian historians in the period prior to the twentieth century provides some indication of the number and variety of the precursors of that most prolific and serious of Ukrainian historians Michael Hrushevsky. One can readily grasp from this detailed survey the wealth of sources that formed the basis for Hrushevsky's monumental history. Also conveyed here is a sense of how a national movement and the historiography that is so vital to it can be furthered by means of a journal supposedly dealing only with "apolitical culture," as was the case with *Kievskaya Starina* [Kievan Antiquity]. Many other issues germane to the recording and comprehension of historical events find expression in this study. Every historian of the Eastern Slavs, whatever his period, will in all likelihood have his knowledge enhanced and his horizons slightly broadened as a result of a perusal of this volume in whole or in part. Its prodigious bibliographical apparatus alone makes it of great importance for reference purposes and an essential acquisition for any library possessing a Slavic collection.

University of Washington

JOHN S. RESHETAR, JR.

NEAR EAST

THE FALL OF THE ŠAFAVĪ DYNASTY AND THE AFGHAN OCCUPATION OF PERSIA. By *Laurence Lockhart*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 583. \$12.50.) This important work covers the declining fortunes of Persia from 1694 until 1730 and forms a companion piece to the author's *Nadir Shah: A Critical Study based mainly upon Contemporary Sources*, published in 1938, which overlaps with the closing years of this work and carries the historical record up to 1747. This book is handsomely produced, with maps and sketch plans, including a valuable original map of Persia in the eighteenth century, an index, and an exhaustive bibliography that includes works in European languages and manuscripts and printed texts in Persian. It includes six appendixes; the final eleven chapters could have been classed as appendixes. In describing the Afghan invasion of Iran, which placed an Afghan upon the throne of that proud country, and the reactions to this prolonged threat both within Iran and in the neighboring states of Turkey and Russia, the author has made a unique contribution. He has crammed the text with details drawn from the most reliable sources and suggests that his work "may serve as a basis for a more accurate and complete study of this most interesting, but intensely tragic, period of Persian history." The author is so steeped in his sources that his own work is reminiscent of the style of earlier Persian historians, with emphasis upon the shifting

fortunes of kings and princes and upon battle after battle. He seems to be writing for readers who have a background knowledge of the country and area; in at least three places he cites phrases in Persian without benefit of translation. Sources consulted by the author include editions of Persian manuscripts published in recent years at Tehran; it is worth noting that Persian scholars are doing an increasing amount of good work in this field. Lockhart was very fortunate, in my opinion, in having access to the fine library of Dr. Caro Owen Minasian at Isfahan and of discussing local topography with him. The closing chapters and the appendixes furnish relief from accounts of bloodshed and destruction. They contain interesting material on such subjects as the English and Dutch East India Companies in Iran, Franco-Persian relations, Isfahan in the early eighteenth century, and art and literature in the late Safavid period. The author achieved exactly what he hoped to do when he began to collect material in 1938, and this volume should long remain as the standard work on these gloomy yet vital years in the long history of Iran. Lockhart is one of some six British scholars who turn out works of the highest caliber on the history, sociology, literature, and art of Persia. May their shadows never grow less!

Princeton, New Jersey

DONALD N. WILBER

FAR EAST

CONFUCIAN CHINA AND ITS MODERN FATE: THE PROBLEM OF INTELLECTUAL CONTINUITY. By *Joseph R. Levenson*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958. Pp. xix, 223. \$5.00.) The present volume by Professor Levenson carries to a broader field a line of research he began in his previous book *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China*. By extending the study to the Ming Dynasty and bringing it down to the Communist regime, the author seeks to show that the intellectual history of modern China is characterized by two reciprocal processes: the progressive abandonment of tradition by iconoclasts and the petrification of tradition by traditionalists. But both traditionalists and iconoclasts have the same concern to establish the equivalence of China and the West, for emotional attachment to the past makes it impossible for the Chinese to bring themselves to an intellectual alienation from their tradition, or an honest recognition of Western values. Thus, in looking beyond theoretical disputes into social conditions and psychological factors, Levenson provides an important key to the inner process of China's intellectual development. But one finds it difficult to agree that this is the master key to the secrets of all Chinese thought and cultural movements during the past hundred years. The Westernizationists, for example, were hardly concerned with equating China with the West; nor was it to establish such equivalence that the Chinese subscribed to Communism. Given to philosophical subordination of facts, the author is disposed to sacrifice historical sequence to logical sequence. All this, however, should not detract from the value of this brilliant and enlightening book. The author's conclusion that the continuity of Chinese history can be affirmed without our explaining Chinese Communism as a Confucian return is especially worthy of attention.

New York University

CHESTER C. TAN

THE HOYSALAS: A MEDIEVAL INDIAN ROYAL FAMILY. By *J. Duncan M. Derrett*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. xix, 257. \$3.15.) The Hoysala family emerged into history from a mountainous home at about 940 and was extinguished at about 1343, almost exactly four centuries later. During that time it acquired a kingdom, even established an empire, and held territory of varying size within an area of South India extending roughly from the Tungabhadra River on the north to

the Kaveri on the south and from the western Ghats to Kanchi (modern Conjeevaram of Kanchipuram) and Tiruvannamalai on the east. This area includes most of the modern state of Mysore and a good deal of adjacent territory, and generally corresponds to that somewhat vaguely defined region that nineteenth-century British called "the Carnatic." The prevailing language in it was Kannaḍa (or Canarese or Kanarese or Kanara). Under the Hoysalas the region produced a distinctive style of temple architecture and sculpture, known chiefly at Belur, Halebid, and Somnathpur. The sources for our knowledge of this dynasty are chiefly epigraphic, and they are copious. There are some supplementary literary sources, partly Hindu in origin and not historically focused, and partly Persian and Arabic and of considerable importance for the latter part of the dynasty's period. Dr. Derrett's treatment is political and military and is based upon a thorough and painstaking study of both the epigraphic and literary sources in their original languages, all handled in the most scrupulous and scholarly manner. It must be considered a definitive work within the limits he assigned himself so far as presently available materials permit. He has a final chapter on administration under the Hoysalas, which again is based upon the data found in the primary sources. His treatment is not a social or cultural history, as he himself states. This aspect of the Hoysala period also deserves to be covered, for in this region lay the great southern center of the Digambara division of the Jains at Sravana Belgola, while Brahmanical Hinduism, primitive cultures, and toward the end Islamic elements also met there, to blend or clash. The book clearly supersedes all predecessors in the field; indeed, there is no treatment to be compared with it. It is not, however, easy reading; rarely do the innumerable trees group themselves into a wood.

University of Pennsylvania

W. NORMAN BROWN

CIVIL REBELLION IN THE INDIAN MUTINIES (1857-1859.) By *Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri*. (Calcutta: World Press Private Ltd. 1957. Pp. xxiii, 367. 25s.) Dr. Chaudhuri's thesis is that the uprising of 1857 in India was more than a mutiny of troops, and that it also encompassed a major movement among India's "non-military" classes. This view, as a matter of fact, was expressed by numerous contemporary observers; it has long been a commonplace in serious historical writings. Like earlier studies, this one is based on British accounts and governmental sources, all in English. Other Indian students of 1857, however, have recently been bringing to light valuable materials in Urdu, Hindi, and Bengali, on which Chaudhuri has not drawn. "Civil rebellion," Chaudhuri's central term, is inapt. It is applied loosely to the activities of all participants in the uprising except for the sepoys, the regular Indian soldiers in the army of the East India Company. The leadership of the "civil rebellion," Chaudhuri emphasizes, was provided by the Talukdars of Oudh. These great landed chiefs, according to Chaudhuri's own account, threw into the fray thousands of their own fighting men equipped with rifles and field guns. Chaudhuri refers to these Talukdars as "barons" operating in a "feudal" framework. An outstanding feature of societies properly termed feudal is that the "civil" and "military" functions are poorly differentiated, or even undifferentiated and exercised by the same hand. Without taking up the tricky question as to whether nineteenth-century Oudh should be called "feudal," we may observe that the author's analysis of the events of 1857 in terms of his dichotomy between "civil" and "military" is unsound.

Bombay, India

DANIEL THORNER

LEADERSHIP AND POWER IN THE CHINESE COMMUNITY OF THAILAND. By *G. William Skinner*. [Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies,

Number 3.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the Association for Asian Studies, 1958. Pp. xvii, 363. \$6.50.) The contention that the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia may become a "dangerous Fifth Column" for Communist China is partly tackled in the case of Thailand in this book, a companion volume to *Chinese Society in Thailand* by the same author, who was formerly director of the Cornell Research Center in Bangkok. The book is a serious field study and social analysis largely following the method of Harold D. Lasswell. It should interest a sociologist more than other readers. After a brief presentation of the background of Chinese leadership in Thailand, the author selected the "top 135 chosen leaders," tracing their case histories, analyzing their authority and alignments, their economic power in 1951-1952, and delving into the inner circle of their power structure. After this study of the leaders in 1951-1952, Skinner collected additional data on the new Chinese leadership from 1952 to 1956. Through various detailed statistical tables, alignment charts, careful evaluations, and frank presentation of high Thai officials' acceptance of gifts from Chinese leaders who are obliged to secure government protection for their business and who wish to enhance their social positions, the author thus concludes "the entire Chinese community will inevitably move more rapidly toward assimilation to Thai society." The reviewer, convinced by the conclusion, wishes to congratulate the author for his painstakingly scientific study. The flaws are comparatively unimportant. Colloquial expressions occasionally occur. While the Chinese leaders are milked by Thai officials, the author should have mentioned the life of other Chinese in Bangkok. It would be desirable also to clarify the monetary status of the "very wealthy" and "quite wealthy" Chinese leaders in terms of dollars. Inclusion of some information about traditional Chinese society and Thai society, moreover, might help the reader to understand better the Chinese community in Thailand.

Indiana University

S. Y. TENG

PANMUNJOM: THE STORY OF THE KOREAN MILITARY ARMISTICE NEGOTIATIONS. By *William H. Vatcher, Jr.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958. Pp. ix, 322. \$4.75.) The author, psychological warfare adviser for the United Nations Command at the Panmunjom armistice talks, has lucidly described "the longest truce talks in history." The book is tightly organized; it purposely has only limited background data and omits lengthy accounts of events taking place outside the peace tents; it includes as appendixes a day-by-day chronology and various key documents, including the text of the final agreement. Certainly the 575 regular meetings (including one meeting of fifteen seconds' duration) at which the negotiations took place provided "further evidences of the trickery and deceit of Communist 'diplomacy.'" Throughout his discussion the author emphasizes the Communist use of the talks for propaganda purposes. With complete access to documents and intimate personal experience, he indicates the United Nations Command's weaknesses and mistakes. Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is the account of the prisoner of war issue which delayed and almost ended the discussions. The principle was established that POW's are entitled to choose the side to which they will be released; in President Eisenhower's words: "In its impact on history, that one principle may weigh more than any battle of our time." The Korean War is still only in a truce. This useful and excellent account will be helpful not only to students of the history of the Korean War but to all who are concerned with understanding the free world's dealings with the Communist world, particularly the difficulties in seeking to carry on negotiations whether in tents or on summits.

University of Massachusetts

SHANNON McCUNE

UNITED STATES

DIE WURZELN DER AMERIKANISCHEN DEMOKRATIE. By *Hans Gustav Keller*. (Bern: Francke Verlag. 1958. Pp. 75. 6.50 fr.S.) This brochure was published with financial assistance from the Foundation for Furthering of Scientific Research at the University of Bern. In view of the present world situation, the author believes it is important that the roots of American democracy be better understood. He finds these roots in the American "Environment and Ways of Living," "The Anglo-Saxon Concepts of the State and Law," "The Divine State of the Puritans," "The 'Holy Experiments' " in the colonies of Maryland, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania, and "The Philosophy of the Enlightenment." American democracy to him was not just something that resulted from a transformation worked by the wilderness, although American living conditions may have favored a democratic order. The settlers in colonial America were preponderantly English and extended those English ideas of the state and law whose origins were in the forests and on the shores of Holstein and Friesland. Attributing the idea of the separation of church and state to Roger Williams, the author asserts that American democracy drew its innermost content from the Christian heritage of Europe. Indeed, if one judges the age of a people on the basis of the sources of their intellectual life, the Americans are an old people who go back to Aristotle, Plato, Livius, Cicero, Sidney, Harrington, and Locke. As to the philosophy of the European enlightenment, Dr. Keller states that in no other country was it accepted so wholeheartedly and unconsciously, adopted so immediately, or persisted so long as in America. Thomas Jefferson gave it unperishable expression in the Declaration of Independence. It was assured survival by incorporation in the Constitution. The greatness of the leaders of the young republic lay in that through them the word became flesh, the ideas became reality, and philosophy was given living strength. Yet today, avows the author, Americans feel that they are a people with a mission to proclaim and realize the ideals and principles of a God-fearing democracy. The brochure is well written and the documentation evidences a good acquaintance with the literature of the subject. A full third of the publication is taken up with footnotes.

Ball State Teachers College

ROBERT LA FOLLETTE

A CÔRTE SUPREMA E O DIREITO CONSTITUCIONAL AMERICANO. By *Lêda Boechat Rodrigues*. (Rio de Janeiro: Edição Revista Forense. 1958. Pp. 411.) This is the first systematic history and analysis of the United States Supreme Court and American constitutional law to be published in Portuguese. This is remarkable, because Rui Barbosa, the principal architect of the Constitution of 1891, was intimately familiar with the legal institutions of the United States. The Constitution of 1946, which attempts to restore to the state and local governments some of the autonomy they lost during the long tenure of the executive Getúlio Vargas, is also a federal document. Histories of Latin America frequently create the impression that the Argentine Constitution of 1853 and the Brazilian Constitution of 1891, both influenced strongly by the United States model, have had more or less equal influence in the governmental experiences of these two countries. Whereas Argentine scholars have translated the works of Story, Kent, Cooley, Willoughby, and Corwin among many others, and have published numerous commentaries on United States constitutional law, similar evidence of United States influence is comparatively rare in Brazil. This was one of the surprising results of an examination of the literature that this reviewer made in various Brazilian repositories in 1955. This volume, therefore, is an important landmark. It is

a thoroughly scholarly, mature treatment of the subject, organized in part chronologically and in part topically. The author demonstrates comprehension of the nature and implications of judicial review in the system of separation of powers and federalism and even recognizes the role the Court plays in formulating policy. This is something that even the great Argentine jurists grasp in the legal context but usually fail to relate to the realities of politics. Although practically all the Latin American countries have something comparable to judicial review—usually referred to as the *recurso de inconstitucionalidad* in the Spanish-speaking countries and *do controle da constitucionalidade das leis* in the Portuguese—the power has almost never been used in such a way as to challenge basic policies of the strong executive and his subservient congress. In a short volume of this kind, the specialist in constitutional law can point to topics that could have been given more attention and to others that have been left out entirely because of the limitations of space. The author quite accurately reflects the emphasis on the Federalist interpretation of the constitution which the great majority of American writers, culminating in the exaggerated study of Crosskey in 1953, have always expressed. It is understandable that the author does not sense the persistent impact of the Jeffersonian interpretation of the Constitution, although he recognizes the contribution of Haines in explaining and defending the position of the states. The Jeffersonian influence could be appreciated only by use of additional court cases, mainly in the lower courts, and by study of the collateral literature in history and political science.

Claremont College

WILLIAM S. STOKES

THE WRITING OF AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY. Edited by *Moshe Davis* and *Isidore S. Meyer*. (New York: American Jewish Historical Society. 1957. Pp. 332. \$6.00.) This book is the verbatim report of a conference of historians conducted by the American Jewish Historical Society at Peekskill, New York, in 1954, to consider the special problems of writing American Jewish history. It contains series of papers on the writing of local and regional history; on problems of American Jewish economic history; on the history of immigration; and on writing biography, with the discussions that followed the presentation of each group of papers. The participants included historians who have specialized in the history of American Jews (such as Jacob R. Marcus and Hyman Grinstein), sociologists who have specialized on problems of American Jews (such as Uriah Z. Engelman and Nathan Goldberg), historians of immigration and its problems (such as Arthur Mann and Robert Ernst), historians whose major concern is Jewish history (such as Salo W. Baron and Bernard D. Weinryb), and historians whose work has touched Jewish history only peripherally or not at all (such as Thomas C. Cochran, Henry David, Selig Perlman, and Allan Nevins), as well as some others (Daniel Bell and Alfred Kazin) who fit none of these categories. As in most such enterprises, the contributions are of varying quality, formality and length; some are very brief and informal, others major research undertakings of thirty or forty pages. For reasons that can only be accidental, all but one of the long papers are in the section on immigration, and there I found most valuable Bernard D. Weinryb's "Jewish Immigration and Accommodation to America: Research, Facts, Problems." By far the liveliest session was the one dealing with economic history, and one wonders if it is accidental that three of the four participants happen to be historians who have worked not at all or only very peripherally in the American Jewish field. Generally such conferences abound in good suggestions; and Professor Cochran makes some excellent ones. Professor Perlman makes the very interesting and to me new suggestion that it was the Marxism of the Jewish trade-unions that made it possible for

them to enter so early into a close and fruitful relationship with, indeed participation in, management at a time when such an outlook was still foreign to the "pure and simple" unions.

Bennington College

NATHAN GLAZER

NEGRO HISTORIANS IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Earl E. Thorpe*. (Baton Rouge, La.: Fraternal Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 188. \$4.00.) This volume assembles an enormous mass of data not elsewhere available. It is long on names and titles but short on interpretation, for the author has tried to include the names of nearly every colored American who has written a book-length historical work, and to allude to as many of their titles as he could cram into his slender volume. Stylistic inelegancies and typographical errors distract the reader, already burdened with the feeling that he is reading a catalogue. Thorpe does, however, impose some pattern upon his materials. After a brief chapter in which he points out that the Negro scholar has been preoccupied with the struggle against the inferior position accorded to Negro Americans, he describes three broad classes of historians. The first, in the years 1800-1896, included pre-emancipation amateurs like J. W. C. Pennington, James T. Holly, Wells Brown, William Still, and later figures like George Washington Williams and Benjamin G. Brawley. These men were still amateurs who wrote in the abolitionist tradition. Then followed the "Middle Group," spanning the years 1896-1930, a more highly trained company bent upon combating misinformation and racist theories as well as presenting to the American conscience the Negro's credentials for fuller acceptance in the national life. They were teachers and writers, professionally involved in historiography, but still propagandists and moralizers, given to overstating the Negro's achievements and glossing over his shortcomings. Chief among them were Du Bois, Woodson, Wesley, Work, and Epps. The contemporary group, to whom Thorpe gives the name of "New School," he describes as increasingly objective, far better grounded in social science and general learning than their predecessors, less exclusively preoccupied with racial themes, and more cautious about hazarding their works to publication until they are satisfied that the canons of competent research and good writing have been observed. Among them are men well known to readers of this *Review*, including Rayford Logan and John Hope Franklin (the best known) as well as Lorenzo Greene, Luther Jackson, A. A. Taylor, Benjamin Quarles, and William M. Brewer.

Woman's College, University of North Carolina

RICHARD BARDOLPH

THE JOURNAL OF WILLIAM STEPHENS, 1741-1743. Edited by *E. Merton Coulter*. [Wormsloe Foundation Publications, Number 2.] (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1958. Pp. xxxi, 263. \$5.00.) "William Stephens," according to the jacket statement, "was Secretary of the Province of Georgia from 1737 to 1750 and was President from 1741 for ten years. He was sent to America by the Trustees of Georgia, who resided in London, to keep them informed on conditions in the colony. Besides writing numerous letters to the trustees, Stephens kept a journal which he sent to them periodically. The journal down to 1741 was printed by the Trustees," and was reprinted in the *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*. Now the University of Georgia has acquired the journal from 1737 to 1745, and the University of Georgia Press is publishing in two volumes, of which this is the first, the previously unpublished portion. Stephens was a keen observer, and he reported faithfully and in detail, so that his writings contain a great deal of lively and gossipy as well as significant information not available elsewhere. Dr. Coulter has prepared the text for the printer and written a suitable introduction. He has not undertaken to identify in footnotes

the large numbers of persons, places, and events mentioned in the journal. This volume, a useful and important source book, will be indexed with the second.

North Carolina Department of Archives and History

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN

THE JOURNAL OF THE COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1746-JUNE 13, 1747. Edited by *J. H. Easterby. Ruth S. Green*, Assistant Editor. [The Colonial Records of South Carolina.] (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1958. Pp. xi, 444. \$10.00.) The first volume of this series, covering the years 1736-1739, appeared in 1951, and the next five volumes were published annually through 1956. This seventh volume covers five sessions of the Commons, all held within a period of twenty-one months to deal with two urgent subjects that plagued other colonies as well: the rising influence of the French among the Indians on the frontier and the old story of hard times. The price of rice was off; an adequate substitute had not been found in indigo; and creditors, themselves pressed for cash, were becoming more insistent. Various remedies were proposed and debated: reduction of taxes, loans from the provincial government, reduction of interest charges, subsidies from Britain, limitations upon sales of slaves to satisfy judgments, and making indigo legal tender to meet the scarcity of specie. In all, only thirty-two bills were introduced or considered for introduction, of which fourteen became law. The volume contains a clear, brief preface and an admirable index, which, in its treatments of bills, petitions, and resolutions introduced, messages to and from the governor and the upper house, and acts passed, serves as an excellent table of contents as well. Since the journal tells clearly the story of events, the editors have thought it unnecessary to retell it in their own words; and, since this publication is intended primarily for scholars of the period, they have avoided footnotes except where clearly needed. South Carolina has been late in making available its wealth of colonial records, so important to an understanding of the period, and to which that state contributed so much. In doing so the editors have set a high standard for all such publications.

Richmond, Virginia

DAVID J. MAYS

RELIGION AND LEARNING AT YALE: THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IN THE COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY, 1757-1957. By *Ralph Henry Gabriel*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 271. \$4.00.) The college church at Yale was established as a separate parish in 1757 and has retained that unusual status ever since. The occasion for this volume was its bicentennial, but the book is considerably more than ecclesiastical annals. The author has related the changes in religion as expressed in the Yale chapel to the larger history of Protestantism in the United States. He has also attempted to assess the impact of the religion of the college church upon the Yale community. This made necessary some account of changing undergraduate life. The college church differs from other parishes in that it is a church within a university. This peculiarity has caused the author to relate important developments in learning at Yale to changes in religion. Finally, Mr. Gabriel has told the story of the religious developments at an ancient and honorable seat of learning in the context of two centuries of evolving American culture. How well has he done all of these things? Quite well, this reviewer believes. Some readers may wish for more on the relationship between events described at Yale and American Protestantism and culture. Given the limits of the volume, it is difficult to discover where the author might have found the space to develop further these interesting themes. As a contribution to the history of American higher education, the volume's usefulness would have been enhanced if there had been references and comparisons to religious developments in other colleges and

universities. The book is written clearly. Although Gabriel writes with scholarly objectivity and does not hesitate to be critical, he examines the religious past of Yale with what appears to be the sympathy of a Christian and the affection of one who has devoted his scholarly life to the service of the New Haven institution.

Carnegie Corporation of New York

FREDERICK H. JACKSON

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE: A MILITARY HISTORY. By *Howard H. Peckham*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958. Pp. ix, 226. \$3.50.) It may be wondered why the Chicago History of American Civilization puts forth Howard H. Peckham's *The War for Independence: A Military History*, in view of the recent appearance in the same series of Edmund Morgan's *Birth of the American Republic, 1763-89*. The explanation is that Professor Morgan, because of limitations of space, was able to refer only briefly to military operations. Peckham's account of the war is much fuller, and the Peckham and Morgan volumes are complementary. It was not to be expected that Peckham, who has found time amid duties as an administrator and librarian to write extensively and competently upon a variety of historical themes, would tell of major events not hitherto described or try to destroy many interpretations put forward in the past by other scholars. Instead, he has sensibly made use of the data amassed by his predecessors, has considered their opinions in the light of many of the documents, and has offered his own judgments on men and measures. These judgments are generally conventional. Peckham's narrative is interestingly and often colorfully written. Students should enjoy reading the book to fulfill a collateral assignment. *The War for Independence* is especially good on the British side of the struggle; Peckham is very familiar with the manuscript collections in his care at the William L. Clements Library, including the General Thomas Gage papers and the Sir Henry Clinton papers. The American side of the conflict is not handled with quite so much authority. This reviewer not infrequently disagrees with the author's analyses of situations and estimates of men. Thus he would not describe the Baron von Steuben as "unassuming," nor refer to a well-known young French officer as the "incredible Marquis de Lafayette, wealthy idealist," as Peckham does. Such differences in opinion furnish materials for friendly debate. One can hardly quarrel with the author's view that Washington was the war's great man.

Duke University

JOHN R. ALDEN

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY: ORIGIN AND EARLY YEARS. By *John M. Daley, S.J.* (Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press, 1957. Pp. xxi, 324. \$5.00.) This work on the early history of Georgetown University, the oldest Catholic institution of higher learning within the continental limits of the United States, is an important contribution to American cultural history. It is based on an exhaustive study of all available sources, and an unusually complicated story is told objectively, if with quite understandable sympathy and affection. The narrative, moreover, has been sufficiently sprinkled with appropriate extracts from the original sources to make it come to life. The beginnings of Georgetown, which was founded in 1789 and opened in 1791, are closely connected with the suppression of the Society of Jesus by Pope Clement XIV in 1773, with the work of the ex-Jesuits in Maryland, with the new needs and opportunities of American Catholics after the Revolution, with the consecration of John Carroll as bishop for the United States and the establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in this country, and with the restoration of the Society of Jesus, partial in 1805, complete in 1814. John Carroll was the founder of "George Town College on the

Patowmack River." Although he had left Maryland as a boy of thirteen to study in Europe and only returned to Maryland twenty-six years later, in 1774, he exhibited from the first an amazing vision and thorough understanding of the American scene. While advocating the establishment of a college on the model of the old English Jesuit colleges on the Continent, he wished Georgetown to be an American institution. Difficulties were many: it was long debated whether Georgetown should be a college or seminary; European teachers found the American students difficult to teach and control; financial problems were constant, as was also the problem of low enrollment. In 1810 there were only ten boarders in the college! Things soon improved under the presidency of John Anthony Grassi (1812-17), an Italian Jesuit who rightly deserves the title of "second founder of Georgetown." But his successors between 1817 and 1829 were not of the same caliber, and these were critical years for the college. Under the presidency of Thomas Mulledy, 1829-1837, however, the future of Georgetown was assured. He and William McSherry belonged to the band of new American Jesuits in whom Carroll had placed such hope and confidence, and they fully justified his expectations. In discussing academic curricula in the early years of Georgetown, the author might have made comparisons with the curricula of contemporary American colleges, but after all such information is easily available elsewhere.

Catholic University of America

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

THE JEFFERSONIAN REPUBLICANS: THE FORMATION OF PARTY ORGANIZATION, 1789-1801. By *Noble E. Cunningham, Jr.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1957. Pp. x, 279. \$6.00.) In this monograph Dr. Cunningham has undertaken with considerable success to probe more deeply into the party history of the 1790's than has previously been attempted. Historians in the past have devoted more attention to the exciting personalities and the dramatic party battles than to the less glamorous subject of party organization. Accepting the view that the political parties were completely new creations, he traces the steady growth of Republican organization from its tentative origins in 1791 to its maturity in the years before the election of 1800. Cunningham shows that party machinery was largely of a transitory and informal character. Only on the local scene were county committees of correspondence set up, and even these were only established at election time. On the national scene personal relationship was the essential element in maintaining liaison with the state leaders and in reaching agreement on party programs. It is this latter process that constitutes the central subject of this study. Among the elements of the Republican party that Cunningham analyzes are the Democratic Republican Societies. He justly concludes that they were only of minor significance in relation to the party as a whole. One of the most striking features of this study is the extent to which it reveals the predominant role played by southerners, particularly by Virginians, in shaping the course of the Republican party on a national scale. The New York and Pennsylvania leaders seem to have been much more preoccupied with winning state elections than with the larger issues of party policy. Indeed the relationship of state parties to the national leadership needs somewhat fuller treatment than the author has given it, in order to make the seeming indifference of Pennsylvania and New York leaders to national politics fully understandable. In dealing with the propaganda techniques employed by the Republican party, Cunningham has omitted any discussion of the widely used public meeting at which resolutions of approval or protest were adopted. These carefully engineered gatherings were a common feature of party propaganda from 1792 to 1800. Although by definition the author has limited his study to party organization, he does from time to time discuss

the Republican party program. In dealing with these issues he has not given full weight to the significance of the French Revolution in tightening party lines. Of particular interest to the students of this period is the material that Cunningham presents showing the importance (perhaps somewhat overstressed) of the political activities of the little-known clerk of the House, John Beckley, whom Jefferson and Madison often used as an agent in the promotion of party organization.

Southern Illinois University

HARRY AMMON

TEXAS IN 1837: AN ANONYMOUS, CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVE. Edited with an introduction by *Andrew Forest Muir*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1958. Pp. xxi, 232. \$4.50.) This anonymous narrative originally appeared serially (Sept., 1838–Apr., 1839) as “Notes on Texas” in *The Hesperian*, a Columbus, Ohio, “literary monthly.” The author “R,” reputedly “a citizen of Ohio” and former resident of Tennessee, visited Texas during the spring and summer of 1837 and traveled between Galveston Bay and San Antonio. The narrative of this trip is his travel journal, with added descriptions and commentaries on the recent history and current geographical, social, economic, and political conditions in the new Texas Republic. The author witnessed the first anniversary celebration of San Jacinto Day, and gathered information and opinions from participants and observers of the recent revolution and political reorganization. His comments on public personalities, land speculation, the legal system, and politics of Texas in 1837 are of greatest value to the historian and student of early Texas. “R’s” firsthand descriptions are perceptive and occasionally fresh and graphic, but his generalizations and moralizing in several chapters descend to stereotypes and banalities. Despite these shortcomings, the work remains the best extant contemporary description of Texas in its first year of independence. Andrew F. Muir has authenticated the narrative and greatly enhanced the book by his excellent introduction and competent annotation.

Sacramento State College

EDWARD H. HOWES

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLES AMERIKABILD: GENETISCHE UNTERSUCHUNGEN ÜBER ZUSAMMENHÄNGE MIT DER ZEITGENÖSSISCHEN, INSBESONDERE DER ENGLISCHEN AMERIKA-INTERPRETATION. By *Bernhard Fabian*. [Beihefte zum Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien, Number 1.] (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag. 1957. Pp. vii, 158. DM 18.) This study, accepted as a doctoral dissertation by the philosophy faculty of Marburg University, centers on the second part of Tocqueville’s *Democracy in America*. Its central concern is with Tocqueville’s reflections on democracy and democratic ideas rather than with his image of America (*Amerikabild*). Dr. Fabian’s particular interest is in the concepts of “the isolation of the individual” and “the rule of the majority” in relation to the equality of conditions (*égalité des conditions*) in America. The author finds close parallels between the views of Tocqueville and those found in the writings of British travelers in America, especially in the accounts and observations of Basil Hall. Tocqueville knew and talked with such Americans as William Ellery Channing and Alexander Hill Everett and also read their books. His indebtedness to them is clear. To the author the second volume of *Democracy in America* is largely an extrapolation of a theory of democratic society from the observations that they let stand as isolated and uncoordinated anecdotes. The prediction of Tocqueville concerning the future America-Russia polarization in the world is presented as a distillation of current views rather than as evidence that he was the “clairvoyant philosopher” or “audacious prophet.” Fabian finds Tocqueville heavily indebted for the prediction to DePradt, Dupin, John Bristed, and Alexander

Hill Everett, though he concedes that the deletion of Britain to make it a two-power rather than three-power constellation is the work of Tocqueville. Along with five addenda on Tocqueville's meditations on such concepts as war, democracy and *égalité des conditions* there is an extensive bibliography.

Ball State Teachers College

ROBERT LA FOLLETTE

THE AMERICAN CLYDE: A HISTORY OF IRON AND STEEL SHIPBUILDING ON THE DELAWARE FROM 1840 TO WORLD WAR I. By *David B. Tyler*. (Newark: University of Delaware Press; distrib. by Associated College Presses, New York. 1958. Pp. xi, 132. \$5.00.) This small volume has more substance than many another monograph several times its length. Like the industry with which it deals, it is as high in performance as it is modest in dimensions. The compensatory mechanism of the big title is readily forgiven. The announced object of inquiry is the relationship between the shift from wood to metal hulls and the decline of our merchant marine. The conclusion—the shift was but one of many causal factors—might have been anticipated, but we would then be poorer to the extent of an excellent account of a small but significant segment of American industrial growth. Dr. Tyler shows how American shipowners, shipbuilders, and the Navy alike were reluctant to abandon wood for iron and steel. And when an American iron shipbuilding industry did arise along the banks of the Delaware, it was owing to the enterprise and energy of a group of engine builders, foundrymen, and boilermakers. Attention is focused upon the activities of a handful of shipbuilding firms, especially Harland & Hollingsworth, Roach, Cramp, Pusey & Jones, and New York "Ship." Technical, organizational, and financial aspects receive consideration. The role of war and its requirements figure prominently in the account.

Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Washington, D. C.

LOUIS C. HUNTER

SLAVERY IN TENNESSEE. By *Chase C. Mooney*. [Indiana University Publications, Social Science Series Number 17.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 250. \$4.50.) This perceptive volume is a valuable addition to the state monographs on slavery. The chapters on the legal status of the slave, antislavery sentiment in Tennessee, slave life, hire and sale, fugitive and stolen slaves will, in the author's words, "appear new only in that they pertain to Tennessee." The primary innovation is a meticulous analysis of statistical material found in the published and unpublished census schedules. Earlier insights on the population structure of the state, the relative productivity of the slaveholder and nonslaveholder, and the relationship of landownership and slaveownership to each other and to crop yields receive unimpeachable documentation. Professor Mooney selects sample counties for eastern, central, and western Tennessee and relies largely on economic data for 18,718 heads of agricultural families in 1850 and 20,558 in 1860. A bill of particulars is submitted. Landownership was widespread in Tennessee and the slaveholders increased "only 4.81 per cent, while landowners increased 9.38 per cent, or approximately the same as the increase (9.83 per cent) in the total heads of agricultural families." The increase in the number of non-slaveholding landowners "together with the upward trend in the number of acres they operated—as well as their location in the various counties—contradicts the oft-repeated contention that the slaveowners were driving the nonslaveowners from the good lands and reducing them to a position of economic and political vassalage." Production figures, moreover, indicate that the nonslaveowner increased his average yield of cotton 58.97 per cent in ten years while that of the slaveowner increased by only 50.79 per cent. Quite contrary to the accepted idea, "the slaveowners produced less of

the cotton and tobacco but *more* of the corn in 1860 than in 1850." There were few planters in the traditional sense; some poor whites were unable to sustain themselves by their own efforts, tenants and sharecroppers did exist; but the great majority of the farmers had few or no slaves, operated a medium-sized tract of land, and approached as near to self-sufficiency as did the large slaveowners. The appraisal of the yeomen farmers and planters is more satisfying than the treatment of the Negro's life under slavery. Writing from the perspectives of U. B. Phillips, the author views the slave system as paternalistic and benevolent. In a legitimate effort to avoid too relativistic a view of history, inadequate attention is paid to key revisionist works and, by implication, the slave lived a more utopian life than the facts seem to warrant. Despite this limitation the book will be the standard study for Tennessee and the statistical innovations for production analyses essential for similar studies.

University of North Carolina

FRANK W. KLINGBERG

AGRICULTURE IN ANTE-BELLUM MISSISSIPPI. By *John Hebron Moore*. [Bookman Monograph Series.] (New York: Bookman Associates. 1958. Pp. 268.) This is an interesting and well-written account of the technological development in farming in ante bellum Mississippi, and an analysis of the forces that produced changes. Making intelligent use of a large mass of manuscripts, contemporary newspapers and periodicals, published memoirs, diaries, and journals, together with pertinent secondary materials, the author has put together a well-organized and fascinating story of agricultural development in the state to 1861. It is a distinct contribution to the history of agriculture in the ante bellum South. Eschewing the conventional approach to the history of agriculture in the region, he has looked beyond the plantation system and slave management into lesser-known but important facets of the story. He records the activities and evaluates the contributions of little-known men who experimented in selective breeding and hybridization of plants, methods of cultivation, improvement of farm equipment, crop rotation and diversification, soil fertilization and conservation, production of food crops, and improvement of breeds of livestock. From about 1800 when cotton emerged as the staple crop until the panic of 1837, Mississippi agriculturists enjoyed a shortsighted prosperity. In their never-ending effort to raise more cotton they were quite successful, but in the process they shamefully exploited the land, neglected other crops, and became dependent upon imports for many necessities. After 1837, when cotton prices dipped to a ruinous level, the challenge of adversity was admirably met by cutting production costs. Heeding the advice of agricultural reformers, Mississippi cotton producers began to diversify crops, protect the soil, and produce more foodstuffs. Within a few years they accomplished a near revolution in agriculture. During the 1850's, when times were good again, agricultural reform was largely forgotten in a mad race to raise more cotton. By 1861 much of the good work of the experimenters and innovators was nullified, and King Cotton was again on his throne.

Vanderbilt University

HERBERT WEAVER

THE CLAYS OF ALABAMA: A PLANTER-LAWYER-POLITICIAN FAMILY. By *Ruth Ketring Nuermberger*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1958. Pp. 342. \$7.50.) If American historians include a few specialists who know that the Clay family was almost as important in Alabama as it was in Kentucky, their interest is probably based upon the facts that in 1905 Mrs. Virginia Clay-Clopton published a volume entitled *A Belle of the Fifties*, and that her first husband Clement Claiborne Clay was a United States and then a Confederate senator whom President Jefferson Davis appointed to membership on a commission that was sent to Canada in 1864

to carry out acts of sabotage against the United States government. Though this effort accomplished little, its most successful enterprise was a raid on St. Albans, Vermont, which was planned under Clay's direction. Relying upon the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, Secretary of State Seward requested the extradition of the raiders as criminals guilty of robbery and murder, but after a protracted trial before the Superior Court in Montreal, Justice James Smith gave an opinion entirely favorable to the Confederates. He said: "I . . . hold that the attack on St. Albans was a hostile expedition authorized . . . by the Confederate States; and carried out by a commissioned officer of their army. . . . No act committed in the course of . . . that attack can be made the ground of extradition under the Ashburton treaty. . . ." High British law officers subsequently upheld the Canadian decisions in the St. Albans case. Having returned to Richmond and reported to President Davis, Clay was preparing for a rapid journey to Texas when, in Lagrange, Georgia, he saw President Andrew Johnson's proclamation accusing him and Jefferson Davis, along with others, of complicity in the plot to assassinate President Abraham Lincoln. Having no doubt of his ability to prove his innocence, Clay at once surrendered. For nearly a year, along with Davis and others, he was imprisoned in Fortress Monroe, without benefit of trial and under the harshest of conditions. The account of few careers would be more likely than this to make temperatures rise both north and south of the Potomac, but never does Mrs. Nuernberger permit prejudice to color her pages. A northern woman who began this study as a doctoral dissertation at Duke University, she has devoted years to its completion, and her scholarship is as sound as her research has been intensive. Her work throws invaluable light upon the political scene during the first half century of Alabama history.

University of Virginia

THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY

AMONG THE MORMONS: HISTORIC ACCOUNTS BY CONTEMPORARY OBSERVERS. Edited by *William Mulder* and *A. Russell Mortensen*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1958. Pp. xiv, 482, xiv. \$6.75.) *Among the Mormons* offers a lively selection from the writings of various individuals, pro-Mormon, anti-Mormon and neutral. The impartiality seems more evident in the extracts written after 1896. The selections include accounts from Mormonism's origin in Palmyra days (some of Joseph Smith's own versions of the beginning of the movement as well as Martin Harris' and Lucy Mack Smith's versions) down to present-day observations on Utah life by Bernard DeVoto and Wallace Stegner. The editors have chosen a hundred samplings from rich offerings. The standard writings of Josiah Quincy, Captain Stansbury, Sir Richard Burton, and Jules Remy among others have been used to illustrate certain tendencies. Some lesser-known materials—for example, a letter of Lucius Fenn and letters of a Lieutenant Mowry—give evidence concerning Mormon and gentile points of view. Editorial comments provide continuity and perspective to the varied selections that have been used. These comments illustrate the change that has taken place in Mormon historiography. Once Mormonism seemed a sour note in American life. Now an anthology can point out without bitterness what Mormons thought of themselves and their actions as well as what many gentiles thought of the Mormons. For a reader who desires to understand these attitudes, this collection of extracts will be helpful.

Miami University

W. J. McNIFF

THE UTAH EXPEDITION, 1857-1858: A DOCUMENTARY ACCOUNT OF THE UNITED STATES MILITARY MOVEMENT UNDER COLONEL ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON, AND THE RESISTANCE BY BRIGHAM YOUNG AND THE MORMON NAUVOO LEGION. Edited, with introduction and notes by *LeRoy*

R. and Ann W. Hafen. [The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, Volume VIII.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1958. Pp. 375. \$9.50.) This handsomely published volume is a compilation of well-chosen documents illustrative of one of the most dramatic episodes in early Utah history. The collection begins with the official launching of the expedition, May 28, 1857, and continues to the final settlement of the problem in June, 1858, by the Utah Peace Commission. Unfortunately, the editors ignore the immediate causes of friction except for the inclusion of two important letters of Drummond and Magraw which are reproduced in the appendix. Nor is there any reference to the important political implications such as the strange role played by Stephen A. Douglas and its effect upon the Buchanan administration. The secrecy shrouding the administration's program, which was merely the sending of an armed force to serve if necessary as a *posse comitatus* for the protection of a new roster of territorial officials, led to unfortunate interpretations and suppositions among the Mormons, who believed the army was being sent to destroy them. As a result, misunderstanding, confusion, and malice combined to create a situation that almost culminated in a tragic, bloody war. The story of this exciting adventure, the reaction to it in Congress and in Utah, Mormon measures of resistance, the heroic mission of Thomas L. Kane—all delightfully and objectively portrayed by well-selected excerpts from diaries, journals, narratives, newspaper accounts, and letters—constitute the theme of this excellent volume. There are appended nine well-chosen illustrations, a fine map, and an adequate index.

University of Utah

LELAND H. CREER

TOWARD GETTYSBURG: A BIOGRAPHY OF GENERAL JOHN F. REYNOLDS. By *Edward J. Nichols*. ([University Park]: Pennsylvania State University Press; distrib. by Associated College Presses, New York. 1958. Pp. x, 276. \$6.00.) When Major General John F. Reynolds learned on the morning of July 1, 1863, that Robert E. Lee's invading army was attacking his cavalry brigades west of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, he decided to stand and fight at the risk of being overwhelmed before he could bring up reinforcements. His decision provided the northern forces with good defensive terrain that in the end meant victory, but it cost him his life. That same morning he was shot through the head while rallying his troops. Although at the time of his death he had shown outstanding ability in fighting from Mechanicsville to Chancellorsville, and had risen to command the left wing of the Army of the Potomac, his career is even today somewhat shrouded in mystery. The chief riddle is: did Lincoln on June 2, 1863, offer Reynolds command of the Army of the Potomac? Professor Edward J. Nichols believes that he did, and that Reynolds refused it because Lincoln would not promise him freedom from any interference from Washington. The evidence is a letter in the Reynolds family papers, written in 1913 by the general's sister Eleanor. It states that Reynolds told her of the refusal. Her testimony agrees with a statement by Meade, in his published letters, that Reynolds refused the command. Because Reynolds himself was a reticent correspondent, his own letters are not especially rich in new information, but Nichols has supplemented them with astute use of the printed sources. His crisply written biography portrays the ambitious general and his equally ambitious fellow commanders in very human terms, and shows how much they resisted the tight control of army movements that was exercised from Washington.

University of Colorado

HAL BRIDGES

SOLDIER IN WHITE: THE LIFE OF GENERAL GEORGE MILLER STERNBERG. By *John M. Gibson*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1958. Pp. 277.

\$6.75.) Robert Koch and William Welch concurred in calling Sternberg the pioneer among American bacteriologists. As a military surgeon at isolated western garrisons during the post-Civil War years, Sternberg began studying and photographing bacteria. His contributions, not so spectacular as those made in Europe, were nonetheless useful, especially in eliminating false theories as to the cause of yellow fever and malaria. He was the first American to see and photograph several germs, although, as with the pneumococcus, he did not always recognize their significance. Like several other scientists, he anticipated but did not prove the role of the white corpuscles in fighting germs. Sternberg's growing prestige impressed his superiors, who sent him as a trouble shooter to various epidemic sites. In 1892 he published his *Manual of Bacteriology*, the nation's first important volume in this field. The next year Cleveland made Sternberg surgeon general, thus ending, as Walter Reed wrote, "the fossil age" of the Army Medical Corps. Sternberg fostered research among military doctors, established the Army Medical School, the Army Nurse Corps, and the Army Dental Corps. During the Spanish-American War the shortage of doctors, difficulties of procuring and shipping medical supplies, and indifference to hygienic precautions by officers and men led to major typhoid epidemics both at United States camps and in Cuba. Sternberg received great criticism, most of it misdirected. After the war he set up the Yellow Fever Commission under Reed, which heroically demonstrated the mosquito transmission theory. Sternberg died in 1915, and five years later his widow published a biography. The present account in its basic narrative owes a substantial debt to Mrs. Sternberg's book. Gibson has rechecked letters still in family hands, and uses them to make his story more vivid than Mrs. Sternberg's. Gibson also writes more briskly, and, compared with the earlier biography, he evaluates the controversial aspects of Sternberg's scientific and administrative career with longer perspective, more ample data, and greater judiciousness.

Emory University

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG

WEST OF THE GREAT DIVIDE: NORWEGIAN MIGRATION TO THE PACIFIC COAST, 1847-1893. By Kenneth O. Bjork. [Publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association.] (Northfield, Minn.: the Association. 1958. Pp. viii, 671. \$7.50.) This book should have value for college students and for specialists in the fields of western American and immigrant history. It covers many pertinent topics within the period spanned by the California gold rush and the depression of the 1890's. The author displays a broad understanding of Norwegian-American history and culture in his story of "migration in microcosm," the influence of Mormonism, the activities of shipbuilders, seamen, fishermen, miners, and lumbermen, the organization of churches, and the development of an immigrant press. The documentation is largely based on letters culled from the Norwegian-American newspapers. A fascinating chapter on "Snowshoe Thompson" depicts the marvelous exploits of a mail carrier whose ski tracks in the Sierras would later be paralleled by the Central Pacific Railroad. A few special points may be noted. The Pacific Coast was congenial to Norwegian settlement. Although most Norwegian Mormons were monogamous, they resented legislation prohibiting polygamy. Scandinavians (Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians) cooperated in societies and churches in the earlier years. Midwestern immigrant newspapers helped to stimulate the movement toward the Far West by reporting favorably on wages and opportunities. Interest in California and in gold mining waned after 1888, as Norwegians turned their attention to the Puget Sound area. Some attained positions of leadership in business. Few became active in politics. Because of inhumane treatment by employers, Norwegian workmen joined disgruntled farmers in support of

Populism in 1892. Lutheran congregations were handicapped by lack of clerical guidance. The author deals briefly and appreciatively with Norwegian minority groups, such as Baptists, Methodists, and Quakers. Professor Bjork has chosen to let the letters of "the simple folk who made history at the dirt and water levels" tell their own story, which may account, in part, for the length of the volume. Chapter introductions appear to be more comprehensive than the conclusions. While Turner's thesis is not cited, one discerns much of the substance from which he formed his views on the frontier. The undesirable features in the Middle West from which Norwegians sought to escape could perhaps have been summarized to advantage. Helpful population statistics are interspersed throughout the work. An index of thirty-four pages is more than adequate; and grammar, style, typography, and format are beyond criticism. The author is to be commended for successful completion of an exhaustive and worthwhile study. Likewise, the Norwegian-American Historical Association deserves congratulation upon publication of another volume that is indispensable in its field.

Jamestown College

ARLOW W. ANDERSEN

THE SPLENDID LITTLE WAR. By *Frank Freidel*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1958. Pp. 314. \$8.50.) Taking a richly deserved respite from his multivolume biography of Franklin D. Roosevelt and obviously enjoying himself in the process, Professor Freidel has put together a first-rate pictorial history of the war with Spain. To supplement some three hundred well-selected and reproduced illustrations, he has written an unpretentious but interesting narrative designed to provide the general reader with the basic facts and a feeling for the times. Occupying a little less than half of the volume, this text draws skillfully upon contemporary accounts by famous writers like Stephen Crane and Richard Harding Davis and by forgotten men who fought in the ranks. Additional aids are an informative note on "Picturing the War," an index with credits for each illustration, and a short list of suggested readings. One of the many virtues of the book is the fact that the author has resisted the temptation to emphasize the spurious and ridiculous aspects of the conflict and instead has attempted to recover the idealism, fortitude, and heroism of those who freed Cuba and destroyed Spanish power in Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Certainly he is entitled to our gratitude for not giving further currency to the many myths that still pass for truth in standard histories and for paying the episode the compliment of treating it seriously. It may, therefore, be captious to quarrel with the title, taken from one of John Hay's many flippant letters. Indeed, Freidel's conscience compels him to indicate at the outset that the war was "splendid" only for those who remained at home and "little" only because of the incredible ineptitude of the Spaniards and the phenomenal luck of the Americans.

Northwestern University

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD

THE PHILOSOPHY AND POLICIES OF WOODROW WILSON. Edited by *Earl Latham* for the American Political Science Association. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1958. Pp. xv, 266. \$5.00.) This book is a collection of sixteen chapters by fifteen writers. Most of them were read during the Woodrow Wilson Centennial in 1956. Seven of the sixteen chapters have been previously published and are easily available. Although this fact decreases the value of the book, the volume does contain nine unpublished papers and brings together sixteen related essays. Earl Latham contributes as editor an introductory summary of Wilson's philosophy and policies. Part I, "The President and His Education," consists of four chapters. Professor Arthur S. Link, gleaning his information from original sources, points out the good as well as the ugly

traits of Wilson's personality. In contrast, Raymond B. Fosdick's chapter is limited to the author's relations of many years with Wilson. Fosdick's essay is personal and subjective, while Link's is objective and scholarly. A. J. Wann quotes frequently from Wilson's writings down to 1908 in order to show the changing views on the President's proper role. Richard P. Longaker is concerned with the major elements of Wilson's experiences as President. Part II, "Wilson and the New Freedom," begins with John Davidson's chapter on the campaign of 1912. He corrects several errors previously held about Wilson's first presidential campaign and adds details about well-known incidents. Arthur W. Macmahon's article contains an excellent summary of Wilson as party leader and executive administrator. Lester V. Chandler reveals that although Wilson lacked knowledge of the currency issue, he was eager to learn. John Perry Miller argues that Wilson "did much to build a solid basis of public support for a policy of competition," a significant change in American economic policy. Part III, "Wilson and Foreign Policy," is composed of four chapters, all of which have been published elsewhere. The authors are Arthur S. Link, William L. Langer, Charles Seymour, and Robert E. Osgood. Within this section a selection from Edward H. Buehrig's *Woodrow Wilson and the Balance of Power* might have been included. Part IV, "The Perspective of Three Decades," contains four chapters. Roland Young correctly states that Wilson's *Congressional Government* is valuable today because it exemplifies Wilson's early thinking, vividly describes Congress, and develops a frame of reference for later political scientists. George B. Galloway shows that some of Wilson's statements in *Congressional Government* are pertinent today, while others are no longer germane; conditions have invalidated them. Marshall E. Dimock presents a synopsis of the Wilsonian economic reformation with emphasis on methodology in achievement. Lastly, August Heckscher expresses the hope that from centennial reappraisals Wilson will emerge "more commanding and more human." This book contributes to the realization of Mr. Heckscher's hope.

University of Florida

GEORGE C. OSBORN

EFFORTS OF RAYMOND ROBINS TOWARD THE RECOGNITION OF SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE OUTLAWRY OF WAR, 1917-1933: A DISSERTATION. By *Sister Anne Vincent Meiburger*. (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1958. Pp. ix, 225. \$2.50.) Here is a study that traces in almost tedious detail the events described by its title. Based on a careful examination of the Raymond Robins and Alexander Gumberg papers in the Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, as well as other important related manuscript papers and printed works, the author clearly differentiates Robins' activities in connection with the two interests that were of primary concern throughout most of his life. Raymond Robins, social worker, religious enthusiast, and politician, acquired in true Horatio Alger fashion a sufficient income to enable him to devote most of his life to the pursuance of special interests. In 1917-1918 he served as a member of the American Red Cross Commission in Russia. During the chaotic days of the Bolshevik Revolution and its aftermath, he fell into the role of unofficial liaison between Lenin and the American ambassador David R. Francis. The author concludes that it was Robins' emotional attachment to Lenin as a strategist of the first order, as well as his conviction that the Soviet regime would endure and improve the lot of the Russian masses, that led him to advocate American recognition of Soviet Russia. Robins' interest in outlawry of war grew out of his association with Salmon O. Levinson, a Chicago lawyer, who had become interested in international affairs during World War I and who had originated a plan to make all war illegal. The author makes clear that there was no connection between the two

movements except a coincidental relationship of concurrence and coexisting leadership. The evidence presented indicates that Robins had even less influence on the final decision to recognize Soviet Russia and on the formulation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact than is warranted by the author's conclusions. Unwieldy in style and sentence structure, the book reads in many spots like a calendar of names, places, and events. The entire study might well have been condensed into a single article.

Whittier College

BETTY M. UNTERBERGER

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF AMERICAN ADVERTISING: PRIVATE CONTROL AND PUBLIC INFLUENCE, 1920-1940. By *Otis Pease*. [Yale Publications in American Studies, Number 2.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1958. Pp. xv, 232. \$5.00.) The stuff of which advertising is made must tempt writers on this subject to be amusing, supercilious, or superficial. By concentrating on the important rather than the bizarre, Professor Pease has written a serious and useful book on the social role of American advertising. This study, which as a dissertation won the John Addison Porter Prize at Yale in 1954, does not pretend to offer a comprehensive history of advertising. It limits itself to the national advertising industry, to newspaper and magazine advertising, and to the period 1920-1940. Though it offers some account of the internal history of advertising (the agencies, specific campaigns, changing techniques of persuasion), its main concern is the ethical relation of the advertiser to the consumer. The author shows that though the industry has always condemned the unscrupulous advertiser, it has never been able to curb him. Most of the book deals with futile industry attempts at self-regulation, and with the half-successful police efforts of better business bureaus, consumer organizations, publishers, the American Medical Association, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Food and Drug Administration. Pease's discussion of the ethics of advertising is sensible, cautious, and sophisticated throughout. He is less cautious in asserting the supreme social importance of advertising. He joins his mentor, David M. Potter, in chiding historians for failing to recognize that advertising as a social institution is as important as school or church. Presumably we owe our conception of the "good life" and many of our strivings and aspirations to the agency copy writers. Advertising men are not mere hucksters, but "crusaders for the liberation of middle-class people from the tyranny of Puritanism, parsimoniousness, and material asceticism." They are reformers who favor "a more progressive economic philosophy," which includes a demand for higher wages and more effective bargaining power for labor. In these interpretations the book leans rather heavily on the industry's published self-portrait. Though advertisers granted the author some interviews, they apparently did not show him their correspondence or permit him to work in the business records of the agencies. Until the inside story of the industry's view of its social responsibilities can be told, this book will serve as a useful guide.

University of Wisconsin

IRVIN G. WYLLIE

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1941. In seven volumes. Volume I, GENERAL, THE SOVIET UNION. [Department of State Publication 6642.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1958. Pp. viii, 1048. \$4.50.) This important volume deals primarily with Soviet-American relations in 1941. It shows that Washington was remarkably well informed on most phases of European diplomacy, except the politics of the Nazi and Soviet elites. Thus the State Department had ample information on Soviet-Finnish relations. It had abundant hints and evidence of varying reliability on the impending German invasion of the

USSR, and some warnings about it were passed on to the Russians months before the attack. Ambassador Steinhardt in Moscow was dubious about the wisdom of such efforts. He could indeed point to a striking record of Soviet hostility and obstinacy, in which Molotov and Vyshinsky emerged as the prime villains. Even after June 22 Vyshinsky responded to the British chargé's comment that they were now associated in a common cause, with a somewhat dry "perhaps." Until Hitler attacked, the United States had the choice of standing firm or trying to entice Moscow. Yet actual diplomatic intercourse centered on relatively routine problems. The image of United States foreign policy toward Europe emerges as one of surprising passivity; one of registering foreign moves and events rather than of determined initiative. The present volume contains valuable nuggets ranging in subject from the Atlantic Conference to Hopkins' trip to Moscow, where Stalin told him that he would welcome American troops on any part of the Russian front under United States command; from the tedious negotiations about lend lease and wartime shipping to London's apparent willingness, during the summer of 1941, to make cynical concessions to Stalin at the expense of Eastern Europe. The collection is provided with the customary conscientious annotations and references to additional documents, including a good many released earlier in other government publications. It does not include materials from United States agencies other than the State Department, except for a few very important additions from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park. These might have provided a further clarification: we are told that the Department has no evidence on the origin of the Soviet peace inquiry directed to Finland; yet the publication of Stalin's correspondence with Roosevelt shows such an approach to have been made in his message of August 4. The restriction of the documents to State Department files, though perhaps inevitable, becomes a more serious handicap as this invaluable series reaches the years of World War II. Even so, the bulk of documents selected for printing has required an expansion of the series to seven volumes a year.

Columbia University

ALEXANDER DALLIN

THE SIGNAL CORPS: THE TEST (DECEMBER 1941 TO JULY 1943). By George Raynor Thompson, Dixie R. Harris, Pauline M. Oakes, and Dulany Terrett. [United States Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1957. Pp. xv, 621. \$4.50.) This is a carefully written, well-documented history of the activities of the Signal Corps of the United States Army from the Pearl Harbor attack to mid-1943. It is a recital, largely from the viewpoint of the chief signal officer, of research and development, procurement and distribution under great pressures and rapidly changing conditions, and despite errors of judgment and many disappointments. Because of the latter it is almost a drama of frustrations. To emphasize the difficulties on the home front we are presented with war signal operations in the Philippines, the South Pacific, North African, and Alaskan sectors. In the background we find ample and conclusive evidence of the continuous difficulties and bickerings with the Air Force, which was expanding rapidly and undertaking operations of a size no one had conceived. There is much to indicate the discontent of the Corps with the army reorganization of March, 1942, which placed the Signal Corps under the commander in chief of the Army Service Forces and gave the Corps no direct representation on the General Staff. Frank expression of this discontent led to the forced resignation of General Olmstead at the end of the period here covered. The arrangement of the book is logical. Each topic is treated chronologically so far as is possible. The first chapters are devoted, respectively, to "The Call for Troops" and "The Call for Equipment." But the prob-

lems of developing and procuring and finally distributing what was needed in the way of material and trained manpower determine the nature of all that follows, whether the chapters deal with school training, Alaska, the Alcan Highway, or the Burma Road. As a description of historical development the volume is not pleasant reading. There are too few successes to gloat about and the historians do not gloss over mistakes and unsatisfactorily solved problems. The book is difficult reading. There follows page upon page of highly technical phrases and nomenclature that even the well-prepared glossary of technical terms does not make much easier to comprehend. As further discouragement to casual readers, including those historically minded, the pages are almost an army catalogue of the number assigned to the various items of equipment and their components. Photography, one of the functions of the Corps, is covered in a separate section, and a section on global communications covers the problems presented in providing communications of each of the far-flung theaters with Washington and other headquarters. The history shows that during this period the Signal Corps was on the defensive. While there is no disposition on the part of the writers to hold the Corps blameless for so much that went wrong or for the inadequacies that developed in critical situations, explanations of why it happened or did not happen and how the trouble might have been avoided are found throughout the book. A study of this history is a necessity for those directly concerned with the ability of this country to fight a war and to utilize efficiently our vast industrial resources. There is, however, much of broader interest. We find, for example, some of the background and motivation for the creation of a separate air force. We see development in the field of electronics occurring in the space of eighteen months that might have taken two decades in peacetime. Historians will probably agree that the writers have skillfully handled a highly technical subject.

New York University

LLOYD E. DEWEY

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER. CONTAINING THE MESSAGES, SPEECHES, AND STATEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT, JANUARY 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1957. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office for the National Archives. 1958. Pp. xxxii, 939. \$6.75.) With this volume the National Archives renews the publication of the public messages and statements of the Presidents of the United States, just sixty years after the closing date of the James D. Richardson series. The material covers the year 1957, and it is anticipated that the work can be carried forward on a regular, yearly schedule. Following a recommendation of the National Historical Publications Commission, the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register adopted the plan, and Congress in June, 1957, appropriated the initial funds. Not included in the *Public Papers* are proclamations, executive orders, and similar documents required by law to be published elsewhere. An appendix, however, does contain a convenient chronological list of these materials, as well as one of reports that the President transmitted to Congress, and of White House press releases. Explanatory footnotes following many of the items add helpful pertinent information. One of the most valuable innovations of the compilation is the verbatim record of each of the President's twenty-five news conferences held during the year. The use of this material, however, is hampered slightly by one of the volume's few shortcomings—index references to document numbers rather than to pages. For most of the items, usually brief in extent, this presents no problem, but to locate a specific reference in a news conference report, each approximately fifteen pages in length, requires some time. The *Public Papers of the Presidents* is a welcome addition to the reference material available

to researchers in the recent history of the United States. It is to be hoped that the National Archives can publish regularly volumes for the period preceding 1957, as well as for the succeeding years.

State University of Iowa

SAMUEL P. HAYS

LATIN AMERICA

FREY NICOLÁS DE OVANDO, GOBERNADOR DE LAS INDIAS (1501-1509). By *Ursula Lamb*. Introduction by *Miguel Muñoz de San Pedro*. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo. 1956. Pp. 249. 60 pesetas.) In *Frey Nicolás de Ovando* Miss Lamb has undertaken to write the life and times of the first and hence one of the most important of the long series of powerful administrators sent over to bring the Indies under the direct control of the crown of Castile. After its initial recklessness in granting Columbus virtually sovereign rights over whatever he might discover, and as the vast extent and potential wealth of the Indies slowly became evident, the crown set about its long and arduous task of establishing its authority and reconquering the New World from its conquerors. The tough, trusted, and experienced officer Ovando was given the assignment. The record of his accomplishment has been known and exploited since the time of Las Casas, so it is not astonishing that Miss Lamb has been unable to add much. She has, to be sure, unearthed a number of new bits and pieces in the Spanish archives, but Ovando remains the stern disciplinarian and unyielding crown servant we have known. The value of Miss Lamb's monograph lies in her having collected in one volume the details of the economy and administration of *Española* in that critical period when it was forged into the matrix of later colonies on the mainland. Ovando faced the problems and conflicts that were to plague the empire for the next three hundred years and set the pattern that his successors were to follow with extraordinary uniformity until independence. A complete index and bibliography enhance the utility of Miss Lamb's work.

University of California, Berkeley

LESLEY BYRD SIMPSON

PRICE TRENDS OF SOME BASIC COMMODITIES IN CENTRAL MEXICO, 1531-1570. By *Woodrow Borah* and *Sherburne F. Cook*. [Ibero-Americana: 40.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1958. Pp. 89. \$2.00.) This study of price trends will interest colonial Mexicanists on two counts. First, it is the only systematic continuation, for Mexico, of Earl J. Hamilton's basic price research of the 1930's. Secondly, it is an installment in a series of publications of which the final goal is the determination of population statistics. To the reviewer's knowledge no one has heretofore made the ingenious connection between population and prices that underlies this study. Cook and Simpson in 1948, and others since, have equated one peso, one-half *fanega* of maize, and one tributary to derive population figures from tribute amounts. But the Borah-Cook study goes much further. Borah and Cook propose, essentially, that commodity tributes were levied upon community populations of determined (but now unknown) size in accordance with the values (prices) of those commodities. Hence a knowledge of the values and of the local assessments may yield an estimate of community populations. The principal tribute commodities were maize, wheat, clothing, and cloth, and it is with the prices of these that the study is mainly concerned. Lesser commodities (lime, cacao, honey, etc.) are also treated, as is labor. The work deals exclusively with prices; the connection with population is reserved for later treatment. A continuous rise in prices for all relevant goods—much sharper than that of Spain—

and an increase in the cost of Indian labor are demonstrated in text, graphs, and tables derived from numerous published and manuscript sources. The authors' emphases are on wholesale trends rather than on the wide discrepancies in actual prices, though these discrepancies are, from another point of view, equally impressive. A corollary conclusion of interest is that wages rose more than prices and that to this extent the Indian laborers' condition improved during the forty-year period.

State University of Iowa

CHARLES GIBSON

COLECCIÓN DE DOCUMENTOS INÉDITOS PARA LA HISTORIA DE CHILE. Second Series, Volume I, 1558-1572; Volume II, 1573-1580. By *José Toribio Medina*. (Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina. 1956; 1957. Pp. xxviii, 502; xxv, 506.) As they continue the late nineteenth-century tradition, labor, and format of Medina, the present volumes brighten the path for the student of colonial Chile. Supplementing the thirty-volume series issued by Medina between 1888 and 1902, they inaugurate the second series and launch a potentially larger collection of documentary materials. Whereas Medina converted eighty-three manuscript volumes into thirty published ones, Rodrigo de Quiroga, Melchor Bravo de Saravia, and those who may follow them plan to convert 234 manuscript volumes of Medina-assembled documents into print. The project concerns the period 1568 to 1806 and the present volumes, containing 162 and 173 documents respectively, treat the periods 1558 to 1572 and 1573 to 1580. The documents are prefaced with individual bibliographical statements of source or sources, and are arranged chronologically. Representing a cross section of Chilean life, the record is political, military, religious, economic, and social. As in subject matter, so in form the offering is varied: *memoria, consulta, carta, testimonio, poder, orden, información, requerimiento, petición, relación, cedula*, etc. Extensive indexes increase the usefulness of the materials. As on more than one occasion in the past, Chileans are again exploring their history in a manner richly rewarding and challenging.

Southern Illinois University

C. HARVEY GARDINER

THOMAS GAGE'S TRAVELS IN THE NEW WORLD. Edited with an introduction by *J. Eric S. Thompson*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1958. Pp. li, 379. \$5.00.) Here is the most recent edition in English of a vivid travel story that has had numerous editions in many languages. Unless we are in error, the last English edition is that of the Englishman A. P. Newton, which appeared originally in 1928. Like Newton and many other editors, Mr. Thompson has mutilated poor Gage, omitting three entire chapters and other passages that "might offend Roman Catholic readers." This is not the only liberty he takes with the original; he has modernized place names, cut up long sentences, in general used a modern vocabulary, and to some degree rearranged chapters. The editor has written a long and helpful introduction and has added excellent clarifying footnotes. He has used some very fine illustrations, in the main contemporary. In this he differs from Newton, whose illustrations, except for the maps, were taken from the Dutch edition of 1700. Thompson's edition also provides some very helpful maps to show Gage's wanderings. As is customary with publications of the University of Oklahoma Press, the book has been given a fine format. This story has, of course, particular interest for one who has traveled widely in Mexico and Central America. For such a person nothing could bring home more vividly the tremendous developments in those regions than a reading of this travel classic.

San José, Costa Rica

WATT STEWART

THE GROWTH OF THE SHIPPING INDUSTRY IN THE RÍO DE LA PLATA REGION, 1794-1860. By *Clifton B. Kroeber*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 194. \$4.00.) One aspect of expanded commercial contact between the eastern seaboard of South America and the rapidly developing nations of the North Atlantic basin between 1778 and 1860 was the movement of goods and people along the vast river system of the River Plate area. Kroeber's study is useful not only as a monograph on maritime transport and as a partial refutation of the "myth of economic stagnation" under Rosas, but also as an attempt to show how control of the waterway affected local, national, and international politics in the area. The core of the book consists of eight brief chapters on the hydrography of the area; the nature and tonnage of commodities in both domestic and foreign trade; the construction, ownership and control of shipping, including the role of foreigners; and the expansion of shipping routes and ports. Supplementing this technical material are a brief chapter on late colonial developments, and what is the most significant as well as the longest chapter, a discussion of free navigation and its repercussions as "a prime factor in delaying the unity of Argentina." The treatment of certain key issues is, regrettably, sometimes superficial rather than definitive. Although Kroeber recognizes the role of the Buenos Aires merchant guild (*consulado*) at the end of the colonial period, footnotes cite no manuscript or published material on the guild. That native-born Argentine and Uruguayan entrepreneurs permitted ownership and control of river, coastal, and overseas shipping to pass to foreigners is noted but not adequately analyzed. The answer to this question may lie in the unconsulted papers of merchant houses. Equally regrettable is the scant documentation for the analysis of Argentine politics from 1811 to 1861. Kroeber emphasizes the optimism with which Argentine and other businessmen tried to expand river transportation in the 1850's despite the absence of freight, as was the case in the Gran Chaco, and also of governmental financial support for their fledgling enterprises. Collaboration between business and government became effective and dependable in Argentina and Uruguay only after 1860. "Governments were ready to reward business for reasons that related more to business than to the advancement of science as such." The accelerated rate of Argentine economic growth after 1860 was, Kroeber concludes, partly a product of the generally overlooked gains of the previous half century.

Princeton University STANLEY J. STEIN

EMPIRE IN BRAZIL: A NEW WORLD EXPERIMENT WITH MONARCHY. By *C. H. Haring*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. 182. \$4.00.) With one exception the New World's direct experience with monarchy has been either unhappy or at worst, tragic. The exception is Brazil, which became the seat of the Braganças in 1808, was raised to the status of a coequal kingdom in 1815, and without serious troubles achieved its independence as an empire in 1822. Under Pedro I the government weathered the difficulties of the centrifugal tendencies of the northern provinces, a rebellious Uruguay, an unsuccessful war with Argentina, and the abrupt abdication of the emperor in 1831. After a thinly disguised republican experiment during the regency, it began in 1840 its golden years under the young Pedro II. For forty-nine years Brazil enjoyed an enlightened and progressively more democratic government, material progress, a prominent role in the destruction of two neighboring oppressive and at times barbarous dictatorships, a brilliant foreign policy, and the peaceful solution of the slavery question. Above all, through its intellectual if slightly dilettantish ruler, Brazil received the respect and appreciation of the West. Suddenly, to the consternation of the diplomatic observers and especially to the American minister, the experiment was ended. Brazil began to experience the dubious de-

lights of Latin American republicanism. The general story of the empire is here presented skillfully by Clarence Haring, dean of this country's Hispanic-American historians. The volume is not based on original research; considering its character, this was not required or even pertinent. Specifically designed for the general public, it should be of great use to the undergraduate student and to those on the graduate, and alas, on the professional levels who do not read Portuguese. Perhaps the pity of the work is that it was not written by a Brazilianist, for here and there questions of interpretation may be raised. One also misses the use of some of the newer, interpretative Brazilian works. It is also regrettable that Mary Crescentia Thornton's volume on the religious question was neglected. In general, Haring follows the lines laid down by the late Percy Martin some years ago. The complete validity of the latter's opinions is now open to question. The specialist should not take umbrage, however, for Haring has done his work for him. Designed as an unpretentious work, it has fulfilled its purpose and will be welcome to harried instructors who want their students to read something on that brilliant period of Brazilian history.

Georgetown University

GEORGE C. A. BOEHRER

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George Boehrer

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The 1958 *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History* is available from the Association headquarters at \$1.50 per copy.

The Association's running file of doctoral dissertation titles is now being assembled for the next published *List*. Departments and graduate students in history are urged to send in topics as soon as they are approved so that duplication may be avoided. During the past three years several duplications have occurred because of delays in reporting titles.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

Efforts of half a century culminated in success recently when the Library of Congress acquired all the papers of Chester A. Arthur that are known to have survived. More than five hundred manuscripts from the President's grandson, Mr. Chester A. Arthur III of San Francisco, have been added to some eighty Arthur papers that the Library acquired in 1925. The new material includes letters by a number of the President's prominent contemporaries, among them George Bancroft, James G. Blaine, Simon Cameron, Roscoe Conkling, James A. Garfield, Ulysses S. Grant, Rutherford B. Hayes, Elihu Root, John Sherman, William T. Sherman, John G. Whittier, and Frances E. Willard; and many personal and family items. Annotations made by the President's son and grandson enhance the value of the surviving documents. The noted collector Charles E. Feinberg has given the Library, in memory of Sir Louis Sterling, twelve letters written to friends when Chester Arthur was a young law clerk in New York.

The papers of Paul Wayland Bartlett and funds for processing them have been presented to the Library by the distinguished sculptor's stepdaughter, Mrs. Armistead Peter III of Washington, D. C. Composed of some ten thousand items—correspondence, photographs, sketches, drawings, and other materials that demonstrate Paul Bartlett's capacity for patient detail and craftsmanship—the papers reflect his career from 1879, when, at the age of fourteen, he exhibited a bust in the Salon in Paris, until 1925, the year of his death. Included are letters from his father Truman Howe Bartlett, who was himself a recognized sculptor and art teacher; correspondence with his wife, the former Mrs. Samuel F. Emmons, and with other artists; and portfolios of material relating to Bartlett's own work and the work of other sculptors.

The Foreign Policy Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania has given to the Library a significant collection of reproductions of Guatemalan

documents relating to mid-century political and labor activities. The collection covers the period from 1944, when General Jorge Ubico was exiled, to 1954, when Colonel Castillo Armas overthrew the regime of President Jacobo Arbenz. The reproductions, consisting of sixty reels of microfilm and some 35,000 photoprints of selected portions of the film, cover correspondence, minutes, and financial accounts of labor unions, political organizations, and government agencies.

The project of microfilming and indexing twenty-three groups of presidential papers in the Library of Congress—including the Chester A. Arthur papers mentioned above—was initiated late in August. Fred Shelley, formerly head of the reader service section of the Manuscript Division, is in charge of the project. Peter Draz, of the Library's General Reference and Bibliography Division, has been named head of the reader service section.

In the series of preliminary inventories published by the National Archives, the following have appeared recently: no. 101, War Department Collection of Confederate Records; no. 102, Records of the Rationing Department of the Office of Price Administration; no. 103, Cartographic Records of the Bureau of the Census; no. 104, Records of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics; no. 105, Records of the Coast and Geodetic Survey; no. 106, Records of the Bureau of Animal Industry; no. 107, Records of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives: Subcommittee on the Works Progress Administration 1939-41; no. 108, Records of the House of Representatives Select Committee of Inquiry into Operations of the United States Air Services 1924-25; no. 109, Records of the Bureau of Reclamation.

The Department of State has deposited in the National Archives an additional collection of 166 containers of microfilms of documents from the archives of the former German Foreign Office. This collection consists mainly of material on the periods 1937-1940 and 1942-1945. Included also are certain microfilms in addition to those previously released from the period 1914-1933.

MEETINGS

At a meeting on June 2, 1958, the Committee on Historical Analysis of the Social Science Research Council met to consider essays that it had invited to be written on valid and invalid generalizations within special fields of history. A paper by Robert R. Palmer raised the issue of whether the historian should or can usefully make generalizations of universal validity. Two essays by Arthur F. Wright raised the problems that investigators from one culture encounter when seeking to understand the history of another. At its next meeting the Committee hopes to consider the discussions that have resulted from these papers, as well as to hear a paper by Walter P. Metzger dealing with generalizations by historians around the theme of national character.

The fifth annual Conference on Advanced Placement in History met at

DePauw University June 26-29, 1958, under the chairmanship of Dr. Coen G. Pierson, professor of history in the host institution. Fifty-six delegates from schools and forty-three from colleges were present.

The annual Anglo-American Conference of Historians at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, July 12-14, was well attended. American scholars delivered the opening and closing addresses. Dr. L. B. Wright spoke on "The British Tradition in America in Retrospect," and Professor H. S. Commager described "The Creation of a Usable Past" by the United States. Next year's conference will meet from July 9 to 11, 1959. American and Canadian scholars who expect to be in England at this time may write for particulars to the Secretary, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, Senate House, W. C. 1.

On August 18, 1958, the Society of American Archivists held its annual business meeting in Salt Lake City. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes of the National Archives was elected president. Other officers elected were Mary G. Bryan, Director for the Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia, vice-president; Dolores C. Renze, State Archivist, Denver, Colorado, secretary; Leon deValinger, Jr., State Archivist, Dover, Delaware, treasurer; G. Philip Bauer, National Archives, editor.

The International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions met September 4-9, 1958, at Overijse-Bruxelles in the Chateau "Ter Nood." The meetings, under the patronage of the minister of public instruction, were arranged by Professor E. Lousse and his colleagues of the Belgian Commission, and were presided over by Professor Helen M. Cam, president of the International Commission. The members accepted the invitation of the Austrian Commission to meet at Innsbruck, September 8-12, 1959. The Swedish delegate aided in plans for a meeting at Uppsala three days prior to the Historical Conference at Stockholm in 1960, when publication of documents illustrating the history of representative institutions in Europe might be further discussed. Professor Rothwell of Southampton, who has collected material for the illustration of medieval English documents, hopes then to be able to announce a general plan for texts or suggested texts listed by historians of other countries.

Among the papers were those by Professor R. E. Giesey of Seattle, who presented an interesting account of "The French Estates and the *Corpus Mysticum sive Civile*"; and Professor L. V. Tcherepnine of Moscow, who spoke about the character of assemblies in the troubled days of the early seventeenth century. Professors Marongiu of Rome and Benedetto of Turin discussed different aspects of early Italian estates. Professor Dumont of Paris read a paper on Protestant assemblies of the sixteenth century and also presented work by a pupil of his, M. Lassaigue, on Assemblies of Notables in the time of Richelieu. Professor J. C. Holt of Nottingham discussed "Rights and Liberties in Magna Carta," and

an impressive contribution was made by M. E. Sabbe of Brussels on the jurisdiction of feudal courts of the marquisat d'Anvers.

Forty-nine persons representing ten institutions attended the thirteenth annual Northern New England Historical Conference at Dartmouth College, October 25-26. Professor Herbert W. K. Fitzroy of University Center, Richmond, Virginia, described the cooperative efforts of eighteen Virginia colleges and universities. "A Symposium on European Libraries, Archives and Research Centers" featured discussions by Professor A. M. Wilson of Dartmouth, Professor E. C. Helmreich of Bowdoin, and Professor S. W. Jackman of Bates. Professor George Bearce was general chairman for the conference.

The Conference on British Studies held its autumn meeting November 1 in New York City. Professor John C. Gazley of Dartmouth College read a paper entitled "The English Tours of Arthur Young." Professor Thomas Copeland of the University of Massachusetts and Professor John Middendorf of Columbia University were the commentators.

Some five hundred scholars from all over the world attended the Second International Congress of Historians of the United States and Mexico held at the University of Texas, November 3-6. Historians and anthropologists from Mexico, the United States, Australia, Canada, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, Spain, England, and France participated in its sessions. As part of the Congress there were exhibitions of Mexican art from pre-Columbian to modern times and of recent books from university presses of the United States and Mexico. The six sessions of the Congress proper were devoted to "Preconquest Indian Civilizations of Mexico and the United States," "The Medieval Iberian Frontier 800-1500 A.D.," "Mexican and American Conceptions of the Frontier," "The Texan Ranch and the Northern Mexican Hacienda," "The Great Frontier Concept," "The Historian's Task from the Mexican and American Points of View." Among the participants were Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz of Argentina, Guillermo Céspedes and José Lacarra of Spain, A. R. M. Lower of Canada, François Chevalier and Philippe Wolff of France, Geoffrey Barraclough and David Ogg of England, Sir Keith Hancock of Australia, José Honório Rodrigues of Brazil, Daniel Cosío Villegas, Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, Pablo Martínez del Río, and Edmundo O'Gorman of Mexico, and Ray Billington, Charles J. Bishko, John Galbraith, William Hogan, Robert Lopez, Frank H. H. Roberts, Boyd C. Shafer, and Arthur Whitaker of the United States. Six of the papers concerning the frontier will be published in an early supplement of the *Texas Quarterly* under the title of "Six Views of the Frontier" and the entire proceedings of the Congress will appear in the near future in a publication of the University of Texas.

The Second Missouri Valley Conference of Collegiate Teachers of History

will be held March 13-14 at Omaha under the auspices of the history department in cooperation with the Conference Division of Adult Education of the University of Omaha.

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

The Ford Foundation has recently announced a \$335,000 grant to Princeton University for a critical analysis of the position and direction of American scholarship in the humanities since the mid-1930's. The project will be coordinated over the next four years by Princeton's Council of the Humanities, which will seek the participation of scholars from many other institutions. The Foundation has granted \$3,000 to Indiana University to help with costs connected with the televising of a course in Russian history. To the University of Tokyo it has made a \$24,700 grant for further assistance in the preparation and publication of historical documents relating to labor movements in Japan.

An international conference on the history of the church struggle during the National Socialist period will be held August 17-20, 1959. The Kommission für die Geschichte des Kirchenkampfes in der nationalsozialistischer Zeit is making arrangements to hold the meeting at a conference center in Bavaria.

The Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation will award a substantial number of fellowships for the academic year 1960-1961 for first-year graduate work leading to a career in college teaching. The period when nominations are accepted has passed for the 1959-1960 awards, but historians on college or university faculties are encouraged to bear in mind this important means of assistance to their students who will be seniors in 1959-1960 as well as to former students who have taken extra-academic employment but desire to begin graduate study.

The Richardson Foundation of Greensboro has granted \$40,000 to the history department at the University of North Carolina for research on American business enterprise. Dr. Elisha P. Douglass, recently returned from a Fulbright lectureship in Germany, will direct the project in 1958-1959.

The Rockefeller Foundation has announced an additional grant of \$26,000 to American University of Washington, D. C., for use during the next two years toward the preparation of a definitive social history of Washington, D. C., by Dr. Constance M. Green. The Foundation has appropriated \$36,000 to Lehigh University as a renewal of its support to the completion of the three remaining volumes in Lawrence H. Gipson's series *The British Empire before the American Revolution*. The sum of \$15,000 was granted for studies on the history of the Turkish Revolution by Professor Enver Ziya Karal, University of Ankara, and Frederick P. Latimer, Jr., Princeton University. Philip D. Curtin, University of

Wisconsin, has received \$1,200 from the Foundation to visit centers of research in African history in Central and East Africa.

The American Council of Learned Societies has announced the following Grants-in-Aid: to Richard M. Brace, Northwestern University, for a study of French colonial policy and Algerian nationalist development, 1830-1958; to Galen Broeker, University of Tennessee, for work on Sir Robert Peel and Ireland; to F. Edward Cranz, Connecticut College, for research on Renaissance Aristotelianism; and to Alexander L. Ringer, University of Oklahoma, for a study of music and ideology in revolutionary France.

Secretary of the Interior Fred A. Seaton has awarded a citation for distinguished service to Ronald F. Lee, Chief, Division of Interpretation, Department of the Interior, and author of *United States: Historical and Archeological Monuments*. Since 1933, the citation states, Mr. Lee "has been an outstanding leader in encouraging greater public interest in preserving historic sites."

The American Philosophical Society has awarded a grant to Dr. Philip C. F. Bankwitz, Trinity College, toward completion of his forthcoming book on the Third Republic in France.

PUBLICATIONS

Alfred A. Knopf and Hutchinson of London are planning a twenty-five-volume *History of Human Society*. The editor is J. H. Plumb of Cambridge University. Among the authors are Leo Gershoy of New York University and Garrett Mattingly of Columbia.

The Historical Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences will publish annually a scientific almanac in foreign languages under the title *Historica*. It will contain the most important results of research work in all fields of historical sciences in Czechoslovakia. The purpose will be to give a systematic survey of the work done in Czechoslovakia in the fields of historiography, archaeology, history of art, ethnography, and folklore. Besides regular contributions in these fields, the almanac will contain bibliographical reviews and surveys of scientific activities. All the contributions will be published in English, French, and German. Editorial board members are Academician Josef Dobíáš, Academician Jan Filip, Academician Jiří Horák, Academician Zdeněk Wirth, L'. Holotík, and Dr. Josef Macek, chief editor. *Historica* will be issued by the Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague 2, Vodičkova 40.

Scholars interested in the history of German public opinion and German journalism will be glad to learn that the Union Catalog of the German Press (Gesamtkatalog der deutschen Presse, located at the Staatsbibliothek Bremen, Bremen, Breitenweg 44-45) has registered more than thirty thousand titles since

1945. Non-German newspapers published within Germany and German-language papers published abroad are also included. The work is directed by Dr. Hans Jessen. In 1932 preparations for such a Union Catalog resulted in the "Standortskatalog der wichtigsten deutschen Zeitungen" compiled by Hans Traub. Large-scale destruction of newspaper collections during the last war—for example, the loss of the Königsberg collection of West and East Prussian newspapers, of the Kiel collection of Schleswig-Holstein papers, of the Frankfurt Press at the Frankfurt City and University Library, and of large holdings of the former Prussian State Library and of the Reichstag Library—has considerably changed the prewar picture and narrowed research possibilities. No German record, for instance, is at present available for complete sets of the early years of the *Berliner Tageblatt*. The Gesamtkatalog der deutschen Presse is making a special effort, therefore, to include the relevant German holdings of foreign libraries. First steps are being taken also to build up archives of microfilmed German newspapers, giving preference to rare papers and to those in a stage of rapid deterioration (up to now more than 100,000 frames). In addition, German newspapers of the seventeenth century have been microfilmed (about thirty thousand frames) with Swedish and British help. The latter enterprise forms the basis for the Deutsche Presseforschung, a research project initiated by Professor Lutz Mackensen. The three undertakings—Gesamtkatalog, the Mikrofilm-Archiv, and the Deutsche Presseforschung—are aided by the Gesellschaft für deutsche Presseforschung which was founded in Bremen in August, 1957. For more detailed information see Hans Jessen, "Ostdeutsche Presseforschung" and Lutz Mackensen "Zeitungen als Quelle zur Sprachgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts" in *Ostdeutsche Wissenschaft* (Jahrbuch des Ostdeutschen Kulturrats), Volume III-IV, 1956-1957, Munich, 1958.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

"The Russian Naval Historical Society in U.S.A." has recently been organized. The Society's library, which contains source materials, is at 349 West 86th Street, New York City. President Serge V. Glad is a former lieutenant commander in the Imperial Russian Navy.

The Rhode Island Historical Society has announced its project of microfilming all Rhode Island newspapers. Positives may be obtained from Micro-Photo, Inc., 1700 Shaw Avenue, Cleveland 12, Ohio. The state has appropriated six thousand dollars to microfilm newspapers. The Providence *Gazette*, 1762-1825, is on film; the ten reels sell for one hundred dollars. The Providence *News* will soon be available. Other important newspapers on film include the Dorr War newspapers in the 1840's. Anyone interested in positives of Rhode Island newspapers may address Clifford P. Monahan, Director of the Society, 52 Power Street, Providence.

Colonial Williamsburg has recently completed the microfilming of the Sir Guy Carleton Papers, 1747-1783, and will supply a positive copy at cost to any interested library. These papers, also known as the British Headquarters Papers, were a part of Colonial Williamsburg's manuscript collections until 1957, when they were presented through the President of the United States to Queen Elizabeth II on the occasion of her visit to the United States. The papers are now in the Public Record Office in London. Colonial Williamsburg has retained positive photostats of the papers, and there is also a set of negative photostats in the New York Public Library. The estimated price of positive microfilm is \$175.00 plus postage, and orders may be sent to Edward M. Riley, Director of Research, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Virginia.

The Department of the Army has made arrangements in its Office of the Chief of Military History (OCMH) in Washington for private scholars to work by appointment as associates in military history in order to encourage research and writing that will supplement the work of the Army's historians and extend the range of public and professional knowledge and interest in military affairs. An appointment as associate places at the temporary disposal of the appointee facilities for research, discussion, and study comparable to those of the Army's historians. Qualifications for appointment are: a Ph.D. degree or successful completion of the preliminary examinations for that degree, the financial means to permit the completion of the study proposed, and a personal security clearance at a level that will permit access to documents and records required to support his study. The subject of the study proposed must be "in the interest of promoting national defense." Preference will be given to projects contributing to the history program of the Army. Associates will be furnished office space, will have access to reference materials within the limits of their security clearance, and will receive advice and guidance regarding necessary information. Applications should be addressed to the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, Washington 25, D. C., and should include a statement of the qualifications and purpose of the applicant; at least three references whom the Office may consult on a confidential basis, a description of the study contemplated, and the applicant's plan for research. The number of associates will not exceed four at any one time.

PERSONAL

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

University of Alabama: Albert B. Moore retired as dean of the graduate school and professor of history. *University of Arizona:* J. A. Carroll appointed associate professor. *Arkansas College:* Margaret Pruceen Lester promoted to associate pro-

¹ The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations.

essor. *Department of the Army, Office of the Chief of Military History*: Kent R. Greenfield retired. *Augustana College*: James I. Dowie appointed assistant professor. *University of Buffalo*: Theodore Wood Friend III appointed assistant professor; Julius W. Pratt retired as professor emeritus after thirty-two years of service. *Central College*: Robert W. Jacob appointed assistant professor. *Centre College of Kentucky*: Max P. Cavnes appointed assistant professor. *The Citadel*: Edward H. Phillips appointed associate professor. *Columbia University*: Richard B. Morris named chairman; Clifford Lee Lord, Director of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, appointed dean, school of general studies; John Higham of Rutgers University appointed visiting associate professor for 1958-59. *Cornell University*: Selig Adler of the University of Buffalo and Mario Attilio Levi of the University of Milan appointed visiting professors; Hugh Tinker of the University of London appointed visiting associate professor; Richard Face of Harpur College and Warren Susman of Reed College appointed visiting assistant professors. *DePauw University*: James F. Findlay, Jr., appointed instructor. *East Carolina College*: Clifton H. Johnson appointed assistant professor. *East Texas State Teachers College*: Frank B. Jackson appointed assistant professor, Robert J. Chasteen instructor. *Harpur College*: D. Cresap Moore appointed assistant professor; Christiaan Liestro appointed instructor.

Harvard University: Donald H. Fleming appointed to the staff for 1958-59. *Hollins College*: Walter Sidney Hanchett appointed assistant professor. *University of Houston*: Allen J. Going promoted to professor; Charles A. Bacarisse and Jack A. Haddick promoted to associate professors; Ronald F. Drew, Robert L. Ganyard, and Robert I. Giesberg promoted to assistant professors; Edward Everett Dale of the University of Oklahoma appointed M. D. Anderson Professor of History; Murray A. Miller retired as professor emeritus. *University of Illinois*: Ralph T. Fisher, Jr., of Yale appointed associate professor; Otto P. Pflanze of the University of Massachusetts appointed assistant professor; Albert V. Tucker appointed instructor; Chester G. Starr, Raymond P. Stearns, Edgar L. Erickson, and Louise B. Dunbar on leave. *Inter-American University of Puerto Rico*: John W. Carson of Michigan State University appointed associate professor and chairman of humanities division. *Institute of Early American History and Culture*: Joyce Wilder appointed assistant editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly*. *Keuka College*: Anita Salmivaara of Helsinki, Finland, appointed visiting lecturer 1958-59. *Lander College*: David N. Thomas appointed professor. *Lewis and Clark College*: Joachim Remak appointed visiting assistant professor.

McGill University: Perez Zagorin, on leave as senior fellow of the Covoda Council, engaged in research in England. *Mansfield State Teachers College* (Pennsylvania): Samuel A. Portnoy appointed professor of social studies. *Maryville College of the Sacred Heart*: Mother O'Callaghan appointed associate professor. *Memphis State University*: Aaron M. Boom promoted to professor; John J. TePaske appointed assistant professor; Leonard P. Curry appointed instructor.

University of Missouri: Walter V. Scholes on leave second semester 1958-59; Charles F. Mullett returned from a year's leave at Columbia University. *Modesto Junior College:* George E. Lewis appointed professor and chairman of department. *Murray Agricultural College:* Lloyd W. Goss appointed assistant professor. *University of Nebraska:* Robert K. Sakai promoted to associate professor; William M. Bowsky of the University of Oregon and Robert Forster of Johns Hopkins University appointed assistant professors; Marvin Bernstein appointed visiting assistant professor; Jack M. Sosin of Indiana University appointed instructor. *New York University:* Harold Hulme promoted to associate professor. *University of North Carolina:* Peter F. Walker appointed instructor. *North Carolina State College:* Oliver H. Orr, Jr., appointed instructor. *North Texas State College:* Diffie W. Standard appointed assistant professor. *Northern Illinois University:* Gerald Nash of Stanford University appointed assistant professor; Terrel Edgar of the University of California appointed instructor. *Northwestern University:* William W. Abbott of the College of William and Mary appointed visiting associate professor; Paul L. Murphy of the University of Minnesota appointed visiting professor; Charles L. Adler, Jr., of Harvard University appointed visiting lecturer; Arthur S. Link on leave as Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford University; Leften S. Stavrianos on continued leave on a grant from the Carnegie Corporation; Clarence L. Ver Steeg on leave as an ACLS Fellow. *Oglethorpe University:* Leo Bilancio appointed assistant professor. *Ohio State University:* Charles Morley promoted to professor and Mary E. Young to assistant professor; Andreas Dorpalen of St. Lawrence University appointed to staff; William T. Bulger, Robert L. Haan, and John C. Rule appointed instructors; Hans Baron appointed Merzhon Visiting Professor; Lowell Ragatz, Sydney N. Fisher, Harry L. Coles, Philip P. Poirer on leave; Robert H. Bremner on leave to University of Wisconsin.

Oklahoma State University: John J. Beer appointed assistant professor; James Henderson appointed instructor; Berlin B. Chapman returned from leave of absence. *University of Oregon:* Brian S. Manning of King's College, London, appointed visiting lecturer fall term 1958-59; Robert W. Smith on leave as Fulbright lecturer. *Oregon State College:* John Thayer appointed to staff; Jackson Putnam appointed visiting staff member to replace R. W. Smith who is on leave in Europe. *University of Pennsylvania:* Morton Keller of the University of North Carolina appointed assistant professor; Hilary Conroy on leave in Tokyo 1958-59. *Pennsylvania State University:* Edward C. Thaden promoted to associate professor; Donald Kagan appointed instructor and on Fulbright leave; Ari Hoogenboom and James Crouthamel appointed temporary instructors. *Rice Institute:* Andrew Forest Muir appointed lecturer. *Rutgers University:* Samuel C. McCulloch promoted to associate dean and professor; John Higham and Henry Winkler promoted to professors; Edward Saveth, Nathan Miller, and Herman Freudenberger appointed lecturers; Traian Stoianovich on Fulbright leave at the University of

Salonica. *Sacramento State College*: Milton I. Vanger appointed assistant professor. *University of South Carolina*: J. Fred Rippy appointed visiting professor fall term 1958; Henry Esmond Bell of New College, Oxford, appointed visiting professor spring term 1959. *University of Tennessee*: Harold S. Fink promoted to professor; Frances L. Harrold and Charles E. Daniel, Jr., appointed instructors; Lawrence F. Silverman on leave at Harvard University; Marguerite B. Hamer retired after thirty-five years as professor of English history. *Tennessee State College*: Robert Gunn Crawford promoted to professor; Edwin T. Greninger appointed assistant professor, Ida M. Martin, instructor. *Texas Woman's University*: Walter Rundell, Jr., appointed instructor. *Tift College*: Mrs. Willie Grier Todd appointed professor.

University of Vermont: T. D. Seymour Bassett of Earlham College appointed associate professor. *Washington and Lee University*: John R. Jones appointed instructor. *Washington College*: Nathan Smith promoted to assistant professor; William H. Machl, Jr., of the New Jersey State Teachers College appointed visiting assistant professor; Richard W. Reichard on leave of absence. *West Texas State College*: Milton V. Backman, Jr., and Duane F. Guy appointed instructors; Frederick W. Rathjen on leave of absence. *College of William and Mary*: Louis Leonard Tucker appointed instructor. *Williams College*: Robert C. L. Scott named chairman; Robert G. L. Waite promoted to professor, C. Frederick Rudolph to associate professor, and Sydney Eisen to assistant professor; William R. Stanton and Milton Cantor, both of Michigan State University, appointed lecturers. *University of Wisconsin*: William L. Sachse named chairman; David A. Shannon and William A. Williams promoted to associate professors; Raymond M. Crawford of the University of Melbourne appointed visiting professor for the first semester; Merle L. Borrowman appointed associate professor, and Leon Litwack instructor; Rondo E. Cameron, Philip D. Curtin, and Henry B. Hill on a year's leave of absence. *Yale University*: Ivo J. Lederer, John A. Logan, Jr., and Robin W. Winks promoted to assistant professors; Frederick W. Mote of Princeton University appointed visiting lecturer; Christopher B. Becker, Jerome Cohen, William W. Dusenberre, and Henry A. Turner appointed instructors; Philip H. Jordan appointed assistant in instruction; Fred F. Hammond and Warren Zimmerman appointed Carnegie Teaching Fellows; DeLaney Kiphuth appointed lecturer; Harry R. Rudin, Lewis P. Curtis, Firuz Kazemzadeh, Mario Rodriguez, E. David Cronon, and Charles Garside, Jr., on leaves of absence; Ralph H. Gabriel retired and appointed to International Service School, American University.

RECENT DEATHS

David W. Robinson, University, Mississippi, a life member of the Association, died January 2, 1958.

C. S. S. Higham, London, a life member of the Association, died in June.

Helen G. Stafford, associate professor at Westhampton College, University of

Richmond, died June 11. Professor Stafford received her Ph.D. from Bryn Mawr College in 1935. Her thesis *James VI of Scotland and the Throne of England* was published by the American Historical Association in 1940. In 1953 her article "Notes on Scottish Witchcraft Cases, 1590-91" appeared in *Essays in Honor of Conyers Read*, edited by Norton Downs.

Professor Arthur H. Basye, professor of history at Dartmouth College, died June 14 at the age of seventy-three. A specialist in English history, he was the author of *Lord Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, 1748-1782* and of articles and book reviews in the historical journals.

Theodor Ernst Mommsen, professor of medieval history, Cornell University, died at Ithaca, New York, on July 18. Born at Berlin in 1905, Professor Mommsen was a grandson of the eminent German historian Theodor Mommsen. Professor Mommsen was given the Ph.D. degree by the University of Berlin in 1929. From 1929 to 1935 he was a research assistant associated with the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and worked at Berlin and Rome. He began his academic career in the United States as an instructor at Johns Hopkins University in 1936. Subsequently he held appointments at Yale University, Groton School, and Princeton University; at Princeton he was an associate professor of history from 1949 to 1954. He joined the faculty of Cornell University in 1954 and served as visiting professor at the University of Chicago and Bryn Mawr College. He was awarded a Guggenheim fellowship in 1948. Professor Mommsen wrote more than twenty articles on medieval European history, covering topics as varied as St. Augustine and the Christian idea of progress, the topography of medieval Rome, and football in Renaissance Florence. Petrarch was a special subject of study both in his articles and his more elaborate works. He wrote a substantial introduction to an edition of Petrarch's songs and sonnets. He translated and edited *Petrarch's Last Will and Testament* in 1957. His early association with the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* continued throughout his life. He was editor of *Italienische Analekten zur Reichsgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts (1310-1378)* [Schriften der MGH, Vol. XI] and a corresponding member of the executive committee of MGH. He was also a corresponding fellow of the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Lucca.

Mary R. Beard, wife of the late Charles A. Beard, died at Phoenix, Arizona, on August 14 at the age of eighty-two. Mrs. Beard and her husband produced the two-volume history *The Rise of American Civilization* in 1927, *America in Mid-passage* in 1939, and *Basic History of the United States* in 1944. From her own pen came several books on women: *America through Women's Eyes*, *Woman as a Force in History*, and *Force of Women in Japanese History*. Her latest book, *The Making of Charles A. Beard*, appeared in 1955.

Oliver Wendell Elsbree, professor emeritus of history at the University of Pittsburgh, died August 25. He had been a member of the faculty since 1930.

Kenneth P. Williams, author of a five-volume history of the Civil War, died in Bloomington, Indiana, September 25. Mr. Williams began writing his history, which he planned as a seven-volume work, at the age of fifty-seven after thirty-five years as a mathematics professor at Indiana University. His fifth volume was in the hands of his publisher at the time of his death.

Robert L. Meriwether died suddenly on August 24 in South Carolina, at the age of sixty-eight. He received B.A. and D. Litt. degrees from Wofford College and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Columbia University. For thirty-nine years he was a member, and for twenty of these head, of the history department at the University of South Carolina. From 1941 he was also director of the University's South Caroliniana Library. He was author of *The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729-65* (1940). As editor of a projected twelve-volume edition of *The Papers of John C. Calhoun*, he read galley proof for the first volume shortly before his death.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Perhaps space limitations and other compelling considerations justify the brevity of *AHR* book reviews. But when a reviewer is asked to deal in the same limited space with two books rather than one, the customary triad of summary, praise, and criticism takes on a still more capsulized and shorthand form. Criticism, in particular, can in such instances have a "hit and run" effect. I am afraid that this was the case with Michael T. Florinsky's review (*AHR*, July, 1958) of my book *Russian Liberalism, from Gentry to Intelligentsia*.

Alongside with fulsome praise, Professor Florinsky's review made three highly abbreviated comments of a negative nature without offering substantiation:

(1) The reviewer suggests in passing that my book's sociological analysis is less valuable than its traditional historical description. I did not intend to separate the book's "sociology" from its "history," and I am not at all sure that this can be done any more successfully than accepting an author's "facts" but not his "methodology." Moreover, in view of the continuing popularity of sociology baiting among historians, a wholly unelucidated remark of this nature is hardly satisfactory.

(2) The reviewer objects to certain terms I coined for central use in this book. He states these terms are awkward and unhelpful. But he does not indicate that they were carefully defined—or what the alternatives were. In the case of my subject—Russia's central liberal currents at the turn of the twentieth century (none of them either labeled or monographically studied before)—the alternatives to my personalized terms would have been such enfeebled and dubious ones as conservative-moderate-rightwing versus radical-extremist-leftwing. And how less

awkward and more helpful would it be to repeat "the liberalism of underdeveloped (or pre-modern? or non-Western? or non-advanced?) societies" throughout a whole book as against my briefer "have-not liberalism"?

(3) If the preceding two criticisms are more or less in the realm of personal value judgments, a third criticism is substantive and more serious. It asserts—in two or three sentences—that the key dichotomy of the entire work is fallacious. The reviewer states that this dichotomy is between "nobility" and "intelligentsia." In fact, however, the book's subtitle already indicates that I was speaking not of nobility but of gentry. And in the opening pages of the book I explicitly limit the usage of the term to Russia's middling nobility of a given period and outlook. Likewise, my usage of the term "intelligentsia" is systematically defined and limited to the turn of the twentieth century, when in Russia a large and often overlooked new professional middle class was replacing the earlier and less modern "literati" and "notables." Professor Florinsky would be entirely correct in insisting that for the pre-1917 period of modern Russia a general differentiation of "intelligentsia" from "nobility" is impossible. But to apply this to my *Russian Liberalism* is unwarranted, no matter how limited the reviewer's space.

Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences

GEORGE FISCHER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I have not done well, I fear, by George Fischer: he finds my praise "fulsome" and my criticisms "unwarranted." Before writing my review I tried the "personalized terms" which Fischer "coined"—"have-not liberalism," "small deeds liberalism," and so on—on a number of my friends and colleagues who specialize in Russian history and sociology. They all shared my puzzlement. The distinction drawn by Fischer between nobility and gentry is truly surprising. The Russian term is, of course, *dvorianstvo* and is translated, according to the author's preferences, either as nobility or as gentry. Neither translation is entirely satisfactory, one of the few points on which most historians of Russia agree.

Columbia University

MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW [letter received November 7]:

In his review of William D. Miller's *Memphis during the Progressive Era, 1900-1917* in the October issue of the *American Historical Review*, C. Vann Woodward states: "In explaining the unregenerate character of the city Miller makes use of neither the concepts of sociology nor those of theology. . . ."

The sociological concept is not absent from this book. One of Miller's major themes is the clash in the minds of Memphians "of their old Southern rural attitudes with urban values," a clash viewed in the light of Thomas and Znan-

iecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. Stated in the preface, this theme of social disorganization is reiterated on pages 8–9, 23, 93, 102, and 126. On pages 186 and 190 it is used specifically to explain the unregenerate character of the city.

Memphis State University

LEE N. NEWCOMER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW [letter received November 6]:

In my review of William D. Miller's book *Memphis during the Progressive Era, 1900–1917* in the October, 1958, *Review*, the statement that he makes no use of sociological concepts is misleading. In his preface Professor Miller refers to the work of W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki on the Polish peasant and applies some of their concepts to his own subject. My apologies are due the author.

Johns Hopkins University

C. VANN WOODWARD

Erratum: The *Review* regrets that, owing to a typographical error, the second and last names of John Alexander Carroll, one of the authors of *George Washington*, Volume VII, *First in Peace, March 1793–December 1799*, were transposed in the July, 1958, *Review* and in the index for Volume LXIII.

Editor's Note

Each year the editor receives many manuscripts (168 last year), and is glad to give them careful consideration. His task, as well as that of the staff and the printers, would be much facilitated if authors would follow the suggestions that a former assistant editor made in the October, 1956, *Review*. They are substantially as follows:

1. Type *all* manuscripts double space, with generous margins.
2. Send us the ribbon copy, use a legible ribbon . . . and keep a carbon copy for reference and in case of loss.
3. Type footnotes, double space, on separate sheets at the end of an article. . . . The printer sets footnotes separately, in a smaller size type than the text; he has to read every mark, no matter how insignificant it may seem to you; and, considering the multilingual nature of most of your sources, this is no small feat. . . . Spell out the first, as well as the last, names of the authors you cite, give accurate titles, insert in parentheses the place and date of publication, and the edition if not the first, cite volume numbers in Roman numerals. . . . Give the depository where a manuscript collection is located and cite manuscripts consistently and in a way that will enable an interested searcher to find them.
4. Try to say what you mean the first time, but, if you must make a correction in galley proof, please do not add or delete a word or phrase at the beginning of a long paragraph without compensating for it. Resetting is expensive, and subject to errors.

Miss Catharine Seybold wrote these words from an experience of twelve years on the *Review* staff. We might add that much editorial work would be saved if authors followed the *Review* style in footnote citations, punctuation, capitalization, etc. The *Review* style is based upon the *MLA Style Sheet*, although through the sixty-three years of its publication the *Review* has developed certain standards and customs of its own, some of which are peculiar to historians. Authors preparing manuscripts for the *Review* will help both the editors and themselves if they will look through published issues.

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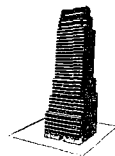
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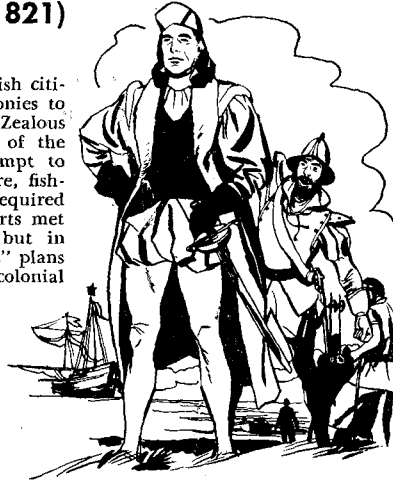
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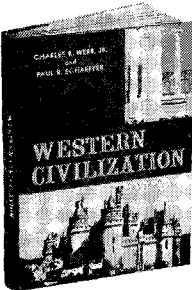
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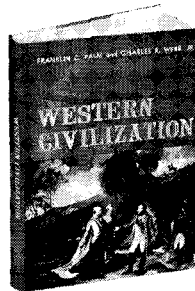
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